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British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Convention.

The delegates assembled at 10 o'clock, Dr. Greville in the chair.

The minutes of the meeting of Monday were read and confirmed.

Mr. Joseph Sturge begged to take the opportunity of congratulating the meeting upon the fact that the ministry had been beaten on the clause in the Colonial Passengers Bill allowing the importation of Hill Coolies into the Mauritius. The numbers were—for the clause 109, against it 158; so that they had a majority in favor of their views of 49 (cheers.) Before proceeding to the business, he begged to be allowed to recommend gentlemen to be careful of the time of the Convention—it was most important that they should finish their proceedings that day, and they had much to do—let it, therefore, be a day for business, and not for long speeches.

Captain Stuart proposed a resolution of thanks to the Missionaries of the London Reformed Presbyterian and Moravian Churches, for their endeavors to enlighten and preserve the liberty of the negroes. In his opinion they deserved the same meed of approbation which the Convention had already given to the Baptist Missionaries. He was anxious that it should pass, but he was anxious that there should be no division of opinion upon it. If it were not likely to be unanimously carried, he would not press it.

Mr. Stanfield, of Belfast, seconded the motion.

The Rev. Mr. Hinton said it was impossible that it could pass in its then shape. Many would object to it.

Dr. Price, of Jamaica, objected to the resolution, as it made no mention of the ministers of the establishment. Although he was a Baptist himself he must say that many of the clergy of the Established Church were warm friends of the negro, and one of them was even now suffering imprisonment in a jail in Jamaica for his zeal in the cause.

The feeling of the meeting being in favor of a resolution more general in its character, it was referred to a sub-committee, and was afterwards proposed by

The Rev. Mr. Carlyle, and was a resolution of thanks to the missionaries and ministers of all denominations, who had endeavored to promote the welfare of the negro and of sympathy with those who were suffering for their exertions in the cause.

Mr. Crewdson seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to.

Dr. Bowring then read the address to the French nation, prepared by the sub-committee, which, on the motion of

Mr. J. T. Price, was unanimously adopted.

[We will give this document and others, which want of space compels us to omit, on the first opportunity.]

Richard Allen, of Dublin, then brought up the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the question of how British capital was employed in the furtherance of the slave trade and slavery. He said the examinations entered into by the committee had been most humiliating; turn which way they would they found British capital directly engaged in the slave trade, and upholding it both at home and abroad. It was a question that demanded the earnest and most serious attention of every friend of the negro. There was much that yet remained in darkness, and he trusted all friends to the cause would expose all that came to their knowledge, so that public opinion might be brought to bear upon those concerned in the support of such traffic.

Mr Boultbee moved, and Mr. Stovell seconded, the adoption of the Report, which was unanimously agreed to.

The committee had also prepared several resolutions, but as some thought they might be considered libellous, they were recommitted, and others substituted and adopted.

On the motion of Mr. Stacey, a resolution was unanimously adopted, calling upon the government strenuously to oppose itself to the introduction of slave-grown sugar.

Mr. Foster then brought up the report of the sub-committee appointed to draw up an address to the crowned heads of Europe who were possessors of slaves.

Mr Hill moved the adoption of the address. He had been most anxious to give his humble aid and assistance to the great cause of anti-slavery—it was one to which he had been attached ever since he had been able to frame an idea—he had attended at the first sitting of the Convention, but he saw so many men of greater talent and of more knowledge of the question present, he felt convinced that it was better for him to remain a silent and attentive listener rather than take an active interest in the deliberations of the Convention. It was from no want of sincere and deep feeling in favor of the cause, but he thought it would be better promoted by allowing other gentlemen to occupy their attention. It was with much pleasure he moved the adoption of the address, and he sincerely trusted that it would be productive of much good to the oppressed negro.

Sir C. E. Smith seconded the motion, although he felt that he had no right to do so, for he took shame to himself for not having given more attention to the details of the subject, and for coming so late amongst them. All sects of religionists agreed that man was a responsible being, but slavery took it away, and placed the slave at the will of his master. The knot of slavery had been tied by government, and therefore he seconded the motion with pleasure, because he wished to see them untie it again.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Prescott, of Berbice, then presented a report upon the results of the emancipation of the negroes in the West India colonies. Their object in meeting was not so much to convince themselves of the evils of slavery, but to collect and send forth evidence of it to convince others; that evidence could not be too full, and had time permitted he would have been most happy to have entered at some length into the effects of emancipation as they had come under his own observation. As time was so precious he would content himself with calling upon all the friends of the negro to watch most attentively the laws enacted by the colonial legislature. The laws enacted in Barbadoes were even worse for the negro than those passed by the legislature of Jamaica. He proposed the following resolutions, which were carried:—

"That the beneficial results of emancipation in the British Colonies, as exhibited in the religious, moral, and social improvement of the laboring population, have far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the friends of freedom and humanity. That the increased value of property in these colonies satisfactorily proves the measure to be one of great advantage to the proprietors and planters; and that in order to the salutary and efficient working out of this great experiment, the progress of colonial legislation must be jealously watched; the withdrawal of a stipendiary magistracy strenuously resisted; and an entire reformation in the administration of justice perseveringly sought.

"This Convention being painfully impressed with the fact, that the enemies of human rights are actively promoting oppressive measures both in this country and in the colonies, the object of which is to silence those philanthropists who advocate the cause of the poor, and to consign the emancipated to a new and bitter bondage.

"That this Convention would particularly refer to the laws recently passed in Jamaica and Barbadoes, and to the persecutions of missionaries and others in the former colony, and this Convention, therefore, earnestly implores the friends of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and especially the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, carefully to observe and to take measures for frustrating all insidious attempts either to abridge the liberties of the emancipated, or to silence and crush their protectors."

Their adoption was moved by Mr. Harvey, and seconded by Mr. Finlay.

The Rev. Mr. Mirom spoke of the happy condition of the emancipated negroes in British Guiana.

Mr. Alexander drew the attention of the Convention to this fact—it was often stated that the production of sugar had decreased since the emancipation in our colonies, and this was used as an argument for the importation of Hill Coolies. (Hear.) Now the fact was that before the emancipation, the decrease of production had begun—(hear)—so that it certainly was no argument against free labor. (Hear.)

The Rev. Mr. Sesborr, of Berbice, bore testimony to the good effects of emancipation.

Mr. Scoble had great pleasure in stating, as the result of the tour he had taken in Guiana, &c., that the negroes had fully borne out the most sanguine expectations as to their conduct under emancipation; that they had become diligent and careful; that they had supported their religious teachers, built their religious edifices, nay, sent large sums over to the aid of religious societies—(cheers)—and as to the pretence of diminished production of sugar, it was just to the extent—and no more—which would result from the deduction of one day from the six, for the negro's cultivation of his own land. The evils of slavery could never be remedied by any mere modification—nothing could remove them but utter extinction. (Hear, hear, hear.) Full, unrestricted liberty, must be given to the negro, in order that he might reap the advantage of the blessings conferred on him. He trusted that their friends from various parts of the country would feel the importance of maintaining inviolate the great principle of total and immediate emancipation—that there would be no compromise on this subject; and he hoped that the delegates from France would feel it to be their duty to advocate entire emancipation without restriction, without money, and without price (cheers.) There was one other point to which he wished for a moment to advert. He had felt it to be his duty that morning to render thanks, first to Almighty God, and then to his honorable friend on the platform (Dr. Lushington,) who was last night enabled to carry the conviction of the House of Commons in favor of the liberty of the Hill Coolies (cheers) With these remarks he begged to support the resolution

Mr. Bradburn also supported the resolution. In the ship in which he and some of his friends came over to England, there were a few planters from British Guiana, who represented the state of things there as being most horrible.—They said their estates had greatly diminished in value; and one of them stated that last year he had lost on his own plantation, a small one, 1,500*l*. But these gentlemen, from certain statements they made, utterly destroyed their own credibility, and he could not, as he told them, believe one word they said—(laughter)—and for this reason: they stated deliberately, and with all the gravity that John Bull was ever known to put on his countenance, that the eloquent gentleman who had last addressed the meeting (Mr. Scoble) was a mad man—(laughter)—that his friend Charles Stuart was a fool—(renewed laughter)—and that Daniel O'Cunnell was a mere political demagogue. He (Mr. Bradburn) immediately replied—"Now, gentlemen, that statement is sufficient to give the lie to all you have told me with regard to emancipation" (Laughter.) But they all admitted the system worked very well for the negro. (Hear, hear.)

Captain Stuart wished to mention that there were two islands which required the especial care and attention of the Convention; one was Tobago; because it was more out of the way of national and commercial observation than any other. No ship scarcely touched it, except the mail. It was out of the world's eye, and consequently they might easily guess what its condition was. The other was the island of St. Lucia, because it was most devoid of religious and moral influence.

The Rev. Mr. Knibb fully concurred in the resolution before the meeting. He rose to draw the special attention of the Convention to the laws that had been recently passed in the island of Jamaica, although he believed they were quite as bad in other colonies. But he especially referred to Jamaica, for the purpose of imploring the committee to prepare a resolution, and a strong one, for discussion on Wednesday, when they would have more time to speak on the matter. He had seen in the public prints a statement that it was the intention of Lord John Russell to let those laws go into operation, and merely to send out some recommendations of amendment to the House of Assembly. The fact was, that they might just as well trust the lamb to the tiger as to trust the liberty of the negro to the House of Assembly. They said they would take care of the liberty of the negro, but it was only as the tiger took care of the lamb, who said he could carry it better than it could walk, and afterwards secretly devoured it. (Hear, hear.) If those laws were to be carried into operation by the hands of a Jamaica magistracy, the whole battle would have to be fought over again. (Hear, hear.) He believed those laws had been passed for the purpose of obstructing liberty, and of strangling it at its birth; and he called on every anti-slave man and woman to assist in fighting out fairly, yet peacefully, the grand object they had in view in the island of Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) He urged them to do so, because his American friends were constantly reiterating in his ears, that upon the result of the emancipation in Jamaica depended the liberty of the negro in America. (Hear. hear.) They ought to use every moral effort to gain unrestricted liberty for their emancipated brethren. It would be their duty to provide a home for the negro population, and to afford them the means of subsistence, so that they might not be continually vexed and destroyed by those who had been fully paid for all they had surrendered. (Hear, hear.) He would just advert to one circumstance that would be interesting to the meeting, and begged to read the following extract from Galignani's Messenger:—"The commission on Colonial Affairs, of which the Duke de Broglie is President, has come to an unanimous resolution that slavery ought to be entirely abolished, and that the total emancipation of the blacks in the French colonies ought to be effected. Three questions are to be submitted to the high functionaries in the several colonies. 1. Whether the emancipation should be according to the English mode? 2. Whether it should be accomplished after a fixed period, either of ten years with an indemnity, or twenty years without an indemnity? 3. Whether it should be according to the system proposed by M de Tocqueville? The commission has adjourned to January next, by which time it is expected that the answers from the colonies will have reached Paris. The delegates from the colonies to the capital refused to appear before the commission, or to afford it any information, intrenching themselves behind the law of 1835, relating to the colonies."—This was interesting information, as far as it went; and he trusted such a feeling would be displayed, and that such facts would accompany that feeling, as to show the French government had not the least occasion to spend one farthing of their money to compensate those who had no claim whatever upon them. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, he begged to express a hope that the respected committee of the Anti-Slavery Society would draw up some strong resolutions for Wednesday's meeting, in connection with the laws recently passed in Jamaica, Barbadoes, and other colonies. (Hear, hear.)

Sir S. Lushington (having been generally called for) rose and said—Ladies and Gentlemen, I had not intended, on this occasion, to intrude any observations of mine upon this assembly; but, as the question which is now submitted to your consideration is one of the greatest importance, and as you seem inclined to listen to me, I will trouble you with one or two observations. (Hear, hear.) I have long expected, from the very first period when the Emancipation Act received the assent of the legislature of this country, that its real and effectual working would be attempted to be defeated in the great majority of our colonies. (Hear, hear.) It never was to be expected that persons whose minds were so imbued with the spirit of slavery—whose hearts for so many years had been hardened against the true principles of justice and religion, would, in consideration of any extraordinary reward, however great it might be, divest themselves of those feelings they had so long cherished, or those habits they had so long indulged. And I grieve to think that at the present hour, looking more especially to the great island of Jamaica (and I entirely agree in the importance of keeping our eyes fixed on that island, which contains so large a portion of the emancipated race of negroes,) they are still concocting measures, studiously disguised in outward appearance, but in truth and in reality intended for the purpose of curtailing that liberty which we have gained with our long exertions, and with the gold of the country. (Hear, hear.) I feel also that in the island of Jamaica, as in most others, there has been no power yet established—at least as far as I have witnessed—which has been able to carry a just law into complete and full execution. (Hear, hear.) But if the law be in itself unjust—if it be so studiously framed for the purpose of diminishing liberty, and for the purpose of giving to what may be called in society the upper class a greater power over those who are beneath them, I am confident if the government of this country give their assent to such laws, they will not merely diminish the liberty of the negro, but will defeat all the great objects which have been declared in Parliament to be well purchased by the 20 millions; and I fear the still greater evil that the time may come when we shall be compelled to submit to the introduction of foreign slave-grown sugar into this country, with all the calamitous consequences of slavery. (Hear, hear.) I hope that my friend Mr. Knibb has, to a certain extent, misunderstood the declaration of Lord John Russell, for I did not understand Lord John Russell to declare that he intended to allow all those acts to go into operation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Knibb—They are in operation now.

Sir S. Lushington—I am aware they are. I am aware that when an act receives the assent of the Governor it is law, until the Crown shall disallow the Act—(hear, hear)—but what I meant to say was, that I did not understand Lord John Russell to say he did not intend to disallow any of those laws, or that he meant to allow all the existing laws to continue in force and effect. I understood him to say no such thing. (Hear, hear.) What I understood him to say was this, that there were certain laws, amounting to a large number, that were passed during the sitting of the House of Assembly in Jamaica, some of which contained good mixed up with bad—that he would not at present disallow those laws, but that he would give the Governor instructions to inform the House of Assembly if they did not bring in other acts abrogating that which was wrong, the prerogative of the crown would then be exercised in the disallowance of those statutes. (Hear, hear.) What the result may be I cannot say, but I do hope that Lord John Russell, knowing the deep responsibility fixed on him as the Colonial Minister of this great country, remembering that the happiness of thousands upon thousands are at stake, if he relaxes his vigilance, or for a moment allow injustice to triumph over truth—I do hope and trust that, viewing the case as we view it, he will exercise that vigilance in the way I have mentioned, by the total disallowance of all measures in which the evil preponderates, and by permitting those measures temporarily to continue in force in which there was greater good and less evil. (Hear, hear.) But though I entertain this hope, I am not one who would leave any exertion untried, or any effort untried, to give such a force or power to the expression of public opinion, as to let him or any other Minister of the Crown know that we, the people of England, have our vigilance exerted upon this great subject. I will not say our vigilance merely, but our well-founded jealousy—(hear, hear)—recollecting that for above a century there have existed in Jamaica apparently excellent laws a dead letter; recollecting that in Jamaica there have also existed laws the most execrable in their nature and in their provisions; and recollecting that in proportion as their provisions were abhorrent to truth and justice, so they were carried into the most efficient execution. (Hear, hear.)—Neither in him, nor any other Minister would I entirely confide, but I would endeavor to induce him to shut his ear to the voice of the planter, remembering that poison was poured into the ears of his predecessors, and that we who have been fighting the cause of the negro, have had to encounter from day to day, and from hour to hour, a denial of those atrocities, and those previous evils which afflicted that country—nay, up to this hour of emancipation we were met with a denial of the truth of that which no man dared now to disavow. (Hear, hear.) I entirely concur in the spirit of this resolution, and I hope and trust, that the evil effects which some prognosticate, many fear, but I hope not all expect, may be averted. (cheers.)

Mr Knibb said that the removal of every Governor who at all sympathised with the negro was enough to make the friends of the black tremble. (Hear, hear.) He would distinctly state that they were determined to have liberty, and nothing less.

Mr. Whitehall observed that there ought to be a clause in every Jamaica Act, suspending its operation until it should have received the sanction of the British Government.

Captain Stuart remarked that it was not the fault of the British Government solely that those bad laws had been passed in Jamaica—the fault was with the British people. (Hear, hear.) The Government had endeavored to correct the evils in Jamaica, but they were foiled in their attempt. At the next election they ought to beat up for Anti-Slavery men and women, and then Lord John Russell would be glad to do his duty. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Joseph Sturge believed the modesty of their esteemed friend, Sir S. Lushington, had prevented him saying any thing upon the subject of the discussion in the House of Commons relative to the Hill Coolies. (Hear, hear.)

Sir S. Lushington observed that the efforts of those who took the lead in putting a stop to the exportation of Hill Coolies from the East, were very much assisted by Mr. Hogg, the member for Beverly—(hear, hear)—who came down on the part of the East India Company, and expressed his earnest desire that no step should be taken without further information. (Hear, hear.) He was happy to say the feeling of the majority of the House of Commons was strictly in accordance with that which must be the feeling of that meeting; and he was sure they must all feel thankful to Providence that, for the present at least, a stop had been put to what he conceived to be little less than a renewal of the traffic in men. (cheers.)

The Convention then adjourned at half past two till four o'clock.

The Convention resumed its sittings at 4 o'clock.

Mr. Sturge in the Chair.

Mr. Morgan, one of the secretaries, read several letters from different individuals, on the present condition of slavery in various parts of the world, and these documents were ordered to be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with a request that that committee would give them their best attention, and dispose of them as they thought most conducive to the great object of the Convention.

RUSSIAN SERFAGE.

The Rev. Mr. Scales said that he had a paper to read to the Convention upon a subject of great importance and deep interest, and one which had already awakened great attention, and appeared likely to do so in a still far greater degree. It was prepared by a gentleman who had resided many years in Russia, and related to the system of serfage that was carried on in that country.

The paper was then read, and many parts of it were most enthusiastically cheered,—and upon its being concluded—

Mr. Turnbull said that the author was worthy of the confidence of the Convention, he was a doctor of philosophy in a German university, and was at that moment in London. As there was a general resolution that all monarchs and governments should be addressed, he thought in the present instance there should be a special address to the emperor of Russia, calling upon him to abolish the system of villainage that existed in that country. (Cheers.)

After a few observations from Mr. James C. Fuller, the paper was directed to be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

DANISH AND DUTCH SLAVERY.

Mr. Alexander brought up the report on Danish and Dutch slavery. The committee had proposed a resolution for the adoption of the Convention. The reason why that recommendation had been proposed was, that it was thought by some of the members of the committee that it would be difficult for the Convention to adopt an address sufficiently extensive to embrace all the subjects connected with Holland and Denmark. One feature of the slavery in Holland, to which he did not advert on a former occasion, was the fact that although there was between four and five hundred plantations in Surinam, there were not more than 13 or 14 resident proprietors. (Cheers.) The hon. gentleman concluded by proposing the resolution.

The Rev. Wm. James seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

SPANISH SLAVERY.

Mr. Alexander said if the committee would allow him, he would now bring up the report on Spanish slavery, on which subject the committee had proposed a resolution for the further adoption of the Convention.

Mr. Turnbull seconded the resolution, which was agreed to unanimously.

FINANCE.

Mr. W. Crewdson held in his hand a paper containing a list of a few subscribers to the expenses of that noble institution. Those expenses were running very high, and he was sorry that there was as yet but very few subscriptions recorded on the paper he then held in his hand. He apprehended that the expenses they had incurred since they first sat, would not fall far short of 1,000*l*., and he trusted, therefore, that all parties would contribute liberally towards the institution.

Mr. Head, the mayor of Carlisle, hoped that those gentlemen who had shown such zeal in their speeches in the cause of abolition, would display equal zeal with regard to its funds. The 1,000*l*. that had been referred to would not support the society,—it would only keep them out of debt. They ought to have some annual increase, as the welfare of the society depended upon their having the means of carrying it on.

Mr. Sturge was sure that all present would do what they could for the benefit of the society, but he thought that it ought to be remembered that many of their friends had made great sacrifices for the cause, in their time, and also in the expense they had been at in coming to this country. (Cheers.)

Mr. Josiah Forster hoped that their friends from the country would bear in mind the great benefits that would be derived to the society from having annual subscriptions. He must, therefore, again recommend that regular subscriptions for the Anti-Slavery Society should be adopted.

The subject was then dropped.

Professor Adams then came forward to communicate to the meeting the contents of a paper relative to slavery in Ceylon. He had no personal knowledge of the island of Ceylon, or the state of slavery in it; all that he knew was derived from the Parliamentary papers he had consulted on the subject. As he had stated before, those were principally Parliamentary details, which he had taken from the Parliamentary papers. He begged, however, the attention of the Convention to the phraseology he had adopted.—He had stated that such and such things had been the case, because he considered that many of the statements were liable to inspection, and it was only by the investigation of the cases in the island itself, by persons who understood the language and communicated with them, that the truth was to be ascertained. Another remark that might also be made was this, that even assuming the correctness of all the circumstances stated in the Parliamentary papers, it followed that the slavery which existed in Ceylon was of a comparatively mild character. (Cheers.) Now, what did they desire more? Why, if the slavery that existed there was of so mild a character, the facilities were far greater for effecting the complete emancipation of the slaves.

Mr. Alexander wished to know what was the state of the slave population in Ceylon, as compared with the free population there.

Professor Adams said that the slave population was about 30,000, including the maritime and central part, while the free population of the province fell little short of one million.

On the motion of Mr. Turnbull, the paper of Professor Adams was referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr William Morgan, one of the secretaries, said a paper had been communicated to them by a gentleman holding a high official situation in Ceylon, which he would now read to them.

The Chairman doubted whether they ought to receive any papers unless they were duly authenticated.

Mr. Fuller had no notion of coming 3,000 miles to hear anonymous letters and communications read. He objected to it.

Mr. Morgan said it was a document coming from himself.

The paper was then read by Mr. Morgan.

Mr. Turnbull then moved that the documents on Ceylon be referred to the committee for their consideration. Carried.

Mr. Carlyle, on behalf of the committee to whom Mr. Murray's paper was referred, reported that they had examined the paper, which was on the subject of the application of the principle of international law for the putting down of slavery, and they recommended that it be taken into the earliest and most serious consideration of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The report was adopted.

Mr. Price of Leeds, said, a resolution had been put into his hands, from which he inferred that the Convention was drawing near its close. He had throughout felt the deepest interest in its proceedings, and he hoped and trusted that it would materially contribute to the advancement of the objects for which it had been convened. He had felt very great pleasure in meeting there so many persons from the other side of the Atlantic, whom he had never seen before, and whom, perhaps, he might never see again; but he had no doubt they would remember each other in their prayers. Recollecting that it had been decided to abolish the use of force for the promotion of the objects they had in view, and that their reliance was entirely upon divine guidance, he felt confident that therein was their greatest and best strength, and that they might submit the care of their cause to Divine Providence. (Hear, hear.) In looking forward to the future, it appeared to him wise in the Convention to consider whether it should, before its separation, conclude to meet again. (Hear, hear.) That was the object of the resolution which he had now to submit to them. In considering the question, it appeared to him that in a Convention of nations, comprising representatives from so many different parts of the world, subject as they were to the vicissitudes of life, they little knew what the future would bring forth, and he thought there would be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that they should agree to meet again. It was, in his opinion, wise to leave it to the Anti-Slavery Society of London to make the final arrangements as to the time and place of the next meeting, and that was the main purport of his resolution. [Mr. Price then read the resolution.] In taking leave of their friends, particularly those from America, there were various suggestions which would present themselves, from the proceedings in which they had taken part, and which he doubted not would lead to the most beneficial results in promoting the success of their cause on the other side of the Atlantic. He was anxious that they should impress upon their American brethren of all religious persuasions the necessity of a general co-operation in the promotion of these objects. (Hear, hear.) His object was, and he trusted it would be the object of their American friends, to unite Christians of all denominations in a common bond for the abolition of slavery. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. John Keep, Ohio, had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. He entered fully into the feelings which suggested the plan of co-operation among all the abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. He believed the present meeting was calculated to effect great good, and he had no doubt that its proceedings would produce a powerful effect in promoting the cause they were all engaged in. There was little doubt that another meeting would soon be called for, the interests involved in it being of great importance. Their minds could not take in the magnitude of the objects of the present Society. He would not indulge in too fond anticipations, nor would he trespass on the time of the meeting by indulging in his own feelings and anticipations, but he believed he echoed the feelings of all his Christian brethren when he expressed a hope that they might all speedily meet again, if not to congratulate each other upon the achievement of their objects, at least upon the vast progress that cause had made. (Hear.) As an American citizen, perhaps he might be allowed to say a few words on the state of the question there. (Hear.) They had the American government, the American ministry, and the American Church against them, but their cause was rapidly making way. (Hear.) The state of society in the United States showed them how deep, how forbidding, and how appalling were the horrors of the American slave system; and how, he would ask, was it possible for a few philanthropists to go forward to the consummation of the work unless they were assisted and encouraged by the blessing of God and their fellow-philanthropists on the other side of the Atlantic? He trusted the position of that slave-accursed country would occupy still more of the attention of the Convention; that they would lay under every thing like prejudice, or that was calculated to keep back British influence, British prayers, and, if need be, British money, to sustain the anti-slavery operations there. (Hear, hear.) He believed, that after the present meeting, there would be more prayers in the churches on both sides of the Atlantic for the success of their cause. Feeling the liveliest gratitude to the persons who composed the present assembly, for the deep interest they had taken in the question, he would conclude by expressing a hope that, if it was not permitted them to meet again on earth, they might all meet in the kingdom of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in another world.—(Hear.)

The Rev. H. Greer said, before the resolution was put, he wished to call their attention to the point of whether the United States would not be the fittest place for the next meeting of the Convention. (Hear, hear.) He hoped that subject would have the calm and deliberate attention of the meeting. He would suggest, therefore, that his American brethren should retire for a few minutes, and deliberate upon the question. The blessing of Divine Providence, he humbly hoped, had been upon their proceedings, and he trusted that the same power would close them. Though oceans divided them, their hearts would still not only be opened to the cry of the sufferer and the complaint of the oppressed, but they would also be lifted up in prayer to God for the success of their undertaking.

The Chairman, Mr. Sturge, said there were few persons, unless those who were intimately acquainted with the getting up of the present assembly, who could appreciate the weight and responsibility of the undertaking. (Cheers.) He believed that those who had taken an active part in the matter, could hardly venture looking forward to the future, to take so much responsibility upon them again, unless they received some intimation of encouragement from the Convention before it separated. It was no wish of taking a prominent part in all proceedings that induced the London Committee to take upon themselves the task, but they did wish to ascertain before their friends separated, whether the arrangements that had taken place were such as to entitle them to encouragement for the future, if they ever looked forward to such a meeting. (Hear, hear.) If their American friends thought it best to retire, he had nothing to say to it; but he begged to call their attention before they did so, to one point, and that was regarding the time of the next meeting. It had been said that a year would be too soon, and three years too remote a period, and many were of opinion that two years from the present time would be most advisable.

Mr. Fuller very much questioned the propriety of retiring. They were all there without distinction of country. He was not there as an American. (Hear, hear.) He stood there as a Christian, on the platform of humanity, and would not go out with the Americans. (Hear, hear.) Let them have every thing done in the open face of day. (Hear.)

The Rev. Mr. Grosvenor wished the American delegates should have an opportunity of consulting together.

The Rev. Mr. Colver was opposed to the American delegates retiring. While he approved of the resolution, he begged to say that he hoped such a correspondence would be opened with the American and other delegates as would lead them to the best and most satisfactory results to all parties; and on that understanding he had no objection to leave the matter in the hands of the London Society. He had the utmost confidence in the arrangements of the society in London, and he had strong hopes that before two years had elapsed they would have the pleasure of welcoming the delegates to their own country to a Convention like the present. Such an event would gladden and cheer his heart. (Hear, hear.) He should not feel that he had done right if he went away without adding a word or two. If anything had escaped him which might have even remotely added to the labors of the Committee, he sincerely regretted it.—When they went back to the land of slavery, the proceedings would meet them there, and they would be canvassed by the slaveholder and the slaveholders' apologist; but they had nothing to shrink from, and he would give the Convention this pledge, that he would remember them when he came before that throne where God heard prayers. (Hear, hear.) The Americans would need the prayers and need the sustaining hand of their brethren on that side of the Atlantic; and whether they met in another Convention or not, whether they were to assemble again in America or England, he felt assured that there was a great Convention, to which he and all of them were hastening. There they would meet the slaveholder, and he prayed that he might not have it to say, "You did not do what you could to relieve me from the infatuation under which I labored, and to enable me to wash off the guilt which has now clothed me with eternal wo." (Hear, hear.) There they would meet, also, the poor slave without his chains, and may God forbid that the poor slave would have to say, "Sir, you did not do what you could to take my fetters off in the other world" (Hear.) There, also, they would meet those who had aided in the cause of slavery, and he trusted that it would not be found that any of them had been turned aside from the path of duty and of humanity. (Loud cheers.) When he thought of the many thousands of slaves in his own country who were groaning under the lash, his heart was appalled, and he lay awake in the watches of the night. In conclusion, he would call upon them not to desist from their labors, not to lay down their bones in the dust until every slave throughout the world was emancipated.—(Cheers)

The Rev. Mr. Galusha was prepared to move an amendment. He could not abandon the hope that the Convention would one day sit in America, but he did not think it would be proper to fetter the Committee in any way. It would be better that the whole question should be left in their hands. He would move, not as an amendment, but as an addition, to that effect.

Mr. Grosvenor seconded the motion.

Colonel Miller had no objection to either the original motion or the proposed addition. He came there at the call of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and had, he trusted, spoken and acted as an independent man. (Hear, hear.) He now felt confident in the prosperity of the abolition principles, and they would be worked out into full effect by means of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As an American, he wished to have a Convention upon their own shores, and he could promise that the friends of the negro would receive as hearty a welcome as the Americans had done in London. He pledged himself, and he could speak for thousands in his own country, that so long as health and life were vouchsafed to him and them, they would devote themselves to the cause of abolition until every slave was set free.

Mr. Phillips said whenever and wherever such a body met again, they, at all events, ought to be left to form their own constitution; they ought to be allowed to form the details of their own plan of meeting, and be able to admit as delegates whom they pleased. He did not see why they should always sit in England.

After a long and desultory conversation

The Rev. Mr. Carlyle moved as an amendment, "That it should be left to the discretion of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London to decide, after consulting with the friends of abolition in other countries, upon the time and place of holding another Convention," which being seconded, was carried unanimously.

Mr. Scales said, all the business had been gone through which had been on the secretary's list. Some gentlemen, however, had prepared resolutions, which they would then offer to the meeting.

Mr. W. Phillips then rose to enter his protest, and that of seven of his American brethren, against certain parts of the proceedings of the Convention. After detailing the list of grievances, it went on to complain of partiality on the part of the Chairman. The latter clause was met with a loud and general cry of "No, no." He complained that upon many occasions they had not been allowed to discuss matters in a manner sufficiently full. He moved that the protest be entered upon the records of the Convention.

Several of the members of the Convention hoped the latter clause would be withdrawn. This was refused. It was then moved, as an amendment, that the protest be received, and lie upon the table, which was carried by a large majority.

Mr. G. Thompson then rose to move a vote of thanks and gratitude to their venerable President. He would have liked to have made some observations upon so interesting a topic but the time was then so late, that he would content himself with simply laying the resolution before the Convention.

Mr. W. Phillips begged leave to second the motion.—The name of Clarkson raised strong and powerful emotions in the breasts of thousands of his fellow-countrymen across the Atlantic, and he was pleased that the last tones of his voice were heard in that assembly, expressing his gratitude to that great and good man.

The motion was carried by every member rising up, and without any acclamation.

Upon the motion of Dr. Price, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Galusha, the thanks of the meeting were voted to the five Vice Presidents for the able manner in which they had conducted the proceedings of the Convention.

Mr. Joseph Sturge most feelingly returned thanks.

Thanks were then voted to the Secretaries, the Press Committee, &c.; after which

Mr. Woodward read a resolution of thanks and gratitude to the Almighty for permitting the assembly. The members then remained a short time in mental prayer, and the Convention was dissolved.

"Slaves can't take care of themselves."

William Brown, a colored man, was a slave to a person near Snow Hill, Maryland. William married a free woman and kept house; he was a house-carpenter and worked about in the neighborhood under the direction of his master, who received the price of his labor, and his wife maintained herself and family by her own industry. At length he concluded to leave his master and went with his little family to Philadelphia, where he soon got into good business, sometimes as a journeyman and at others done jobs on his own account. Jesse Williams, a respectable friend of that city, frequently employed him, and he told me, that he was as capable of doing plain work, laying floors, &c., as any man he ever employed, and would do as much in one day as almost any other man could do in a day and a half. He was faithful in his business—uncommonly industrious, and soon began to get ahead in the world. He took a lot in George street, near Tenth, on ground rent, and erected a neat frame house on it, and had things comfortable and convenient about him.

After residing in Philadelphia several years, his master became informed of his location through the treachery of a young man, a student of medicine. William's wife was taken sick and doctor Church, a well known and highly respectable physician of the district of Southwark, was called upon to attend her. The doctor had an extensive practice, and, being much engaged, he sent one of his students to visit her. This student was from the neighborhood where William had formerly lived, and knew him and his master. He professed great regard for William, and expressed much satisfaction on meeting his old acquaintance, and that he was doing so well. So that the poor man had not the least idea that he would betray him; but in this he was sadly mistaken. All the professions of the young man were hypocritical; for he immediately wrote to his master, who sent a person clothed with authority, and furnished with the requisite documents, and in the summer of 1804 William was arrested, hurried before a magistrate, and the usual certificate in such cases obtained, authorizing the agent of the master to convey him to Maryland.

It was about sun-set when he was arrested, and I was soon after informed of it. William had done several small jobs of carpenter work for me—I was well acquainted with him and his family—his wife, though rather weakly, was an industrious, frugal managing woman, and kept her house and family clean and in good order. In these respects she was equaled by few white people, in the same circumstances in life.

When I heard of William's arrest I was exceedingly grieved, for I much respected him; and the reflection that he was to be forever separated from his wife and four or five children, some of whom were young, one an infant at the breast, was truly distressing, and I at once came to the determination to investigate the matter, and, if possible, effect his release.

I immediately proceeded to the still-house wharf, as it was called, in the lower part of the district of Southwark, where I was informed the vessel lay, on board of which they had put him. I was accompanied by my brother-in-law, David Tatum, a young man who then boarded in my family. Upon arriving at the wharf I saw a man walking the deck of the vessel with a musket on his shoulder. The vessel lay at the end of the wharf. It was some time after sun-set, but not so dark but what I could see objects on board. I stepped to the side of the vessel and civilly asked the man with the gun, if there was not a colored man on board who had been that afternoon arrested as a fugitive slave. He replied, "It is none of your business whether there is or not, there is nobody on board but what has a right to be there." I let him know that I knew the man and told him I had known him a considerable time, and had not the least idea that he was a slave, and requested permission to see him. This he roughly refused, making use of profane language. I coolly remonstrated with the fellow and endeavored to work upon his feelings, informing him of the helpless condition the family of the colored man was in, but it had not the least effect.

I then informed him that I must see the man, and I must also know by what authority he was apprehended and detained in custody, and that if I found every thing regular and fair I would give him no further trouble. He declared with an oath that I should not see or speak with him, and that if I attempted to board the vessel he would shoot me, and presented his gun at me. I immediately stepped towards him, and, taking hold of the gun, turned it aside and went on board, and proceeded into the cabin.

I remonstrated with the desperate fellow, for such he appeared to be, and endeavored to convince him that it was in vain to think of getting the man away until his condition was investigated, and I told him that unless he would consent to it I would have him arrested and compel him to do it. He was extremely enraged and threatened me with instant death if I did not immediately leave the vessel. I gave him to understand that his threats would not divert me from my purpose.

After some time he became more moderate and exhibited his papers and permitted me to converse with William.—Upon examining his documents, and talking with William, I became satisfied that nothing could be done for his relief. I reluctantly withdrew, leaving the wretched man to his fate, loaded with heavy irons. Early the next morning I went to see his wife, who, with her infant, I found in bed. The mother was overwhelmed with grief, as the unconscious infant lay at her breast. Imagination may, in some measure, conceive of her agony, but no language can describe it. I was ready to exclaim, as I had often been before on occasions similar to this, surely the Almighty will avenge the cause of this people, their sighs and groanings will be heard by him I endeavored to console her as well as I could and then left her and returned home.

William Brown was taken to Snow Hill and delivered to his master. The character he had sustained had made him friends, and a person in the neighborhood, a Methodist, and whose name I think was Cooper, and who had been acquainted with him previous to his elopement, feeling sympathy with him and his bereaved family, interested himself on his behalf and purchased him for four hundred dollars. Having confidence in his integrity he permitted him to return to his family in Philadelphia; and, as it afterwards appeared, he was not deceived; for William soon made up the money Cooper had paid for him, when he was legally manumitted.

He remained in Philadelphia several years after this event and followed his trade, but being sensible of the many disadvantages under which he labored on account of his color, he concluded to go to Hayti and take his family with him. I have several times heard from him since his removal there, and learn that he was doing well and was satisfied with his situation, which was quite comfortable.

ISAAC T. HOPPER.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

Letter from J. G. Whittier.

We most cheerfully insert the following letter from our "brother-beloved," although the portion of it which "defines his position," may be considered as in some measure as anticipated by the publication some weeks ago of his letter to J. Leavitt. We append a few remarks, for the purpose of correcting one or two rather serious errors into which our friend has fallen.

AMESBURY, 7th mo. 6th, 1840.

DEAR CHARLES,—By the "Freeman" of the 2d instant, I see that our friend Henry C. Wright, who seems to suppose himself privileged to play at shuttlecock with the names of his anti-slavery acquaintance, has seen fit to arraign me before the readers of the "Non-Resistant," on the charge of heresy and new organization—or to use plain language, of being a member of the lately formed American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This was undoubtedly intended as a serious charge—involving a great degree of moral obliquity, and a most lamentable want of that "clearness of vision" which "discerns spirits," and "detects heresy," even when it has no real existence: like Campbell's seers of the Orkneys, who in his "second sight," saw

——— airy rowers dip
Their oars beneath the sun,
And the phantom of many a Danish ship,
While ship there still was none.

So at least, my excellent and talented friend, T. S. C., appears to have regarded it; and with the jealous promptitude of a friendship which I warmly reciprocate, he has undertaken to afford me 'that benefit of the doubt,' whether I am, or am not a member of the new society.

In thy capacity of interpreter of the somewhat ambiguous oracles of our friend Henry C. Wright, it is intimated in an editorial note, that 'it is *thought*' that I have manifested 'a strong sympathy' with the new organization. It appears that in thy estimation I have 'given color to the idea' that I am a friend of the new anti-slavery organization, and in a tone of mingled sorrow and kindness, becoming an old friend, it is added: 'If the inference is ungrounded, we are glad of it.'

My only reason for noticing this at all, is the fear that persons unacquainted either with myself or the facts in the case might suppose that I had purposely concealed my sentiments in reference to the recent unhappy dissensions in our organizations. Thou thyself must do me the justice to admit that such is not the fact. For the sake of peace; for the slave's sake, while editor of the Freeman, I forbore to reply to the attacks of my non-resistant contemporary; and while in that position, chose rather myself to suffer, than introduce into Pennsylvania the miserable quarrel at the East. regarded the Freeman as the bondman's advocate, and I I could not with a good conscience devote its columns to matters affecting myself personally. But, if it be necessary for me now to repeat what I trust I have ever manifested in public, as well as in private, in persecution as well as in prosperity—I feel 'a strong sympathy' with all who are willing to labor for the welfare of the oppressed,—I can truly say, rejoicing in the opportunity of doing so, that I *do* sympathize with the faithful abolitionists who have formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—with the Tappans, with Leavitt, Smith, Jay, Sunderland, Birney and others. I am not a member of the new society In my present state of health, I am not able to take an active part in any. My name is attached to the Constitution of the old society, and I hope that the course of the society will be such that I can conscientiously permit it to remain there. I need not perhaps say in this connection, that I do not agree with the prominent officers of that society, as to the means of promoting our object. I am not yet satisfied that the abolition of civil and Church governments is the best means of abolishing slavery. (1) I am not prepared to wage a war of *extermination* with the various religious sects, on the ground that they are the 'greatest obstacles' in the way of freedom. (2) I feel a strong attachment to the religious society to which I am connected—its doctrines and its testimonies—and, while I regret that too many of its members are continually indifferent to the woes of the enslaved—I cannot in truth call it a '*pro-slavery sect.*'—With both societies, so far as they confine themselves to the original principles and practices of the Anti-Slavery Society, as at first organized, I should cheerfully co-operate to the extent of my ability; and whatever may be the provocation, I trust I shall not enter into controversy with either.

I suppose thou hast seen in the Boston Post or New-York Express, that our peaceful town has been invaded 'by some score of runaway negroes,' who have 'committed *extensive* depredations upon our citizens,' &c. &c. The truth of the matter seems to be, that three or four colored persons have been for the last fortnight lurking about the swamps of this town, and the neighboring one of Southampton, N. H. We have made great exertions to ascertain who, or what they are, but all have failed. One of them was caught in Southampton, and in company with some of my abolition friends I visited him, but we could make nothing of him. He refused to answer any inquiry as to his former place of residence, and seemed greatly terrified.—Every exertion was made to obtain his confidence, but to no effect. He has since escaped, and probably joined his companions in the woods. They have called at several farm-houses in the vicinity, in quest of food, which they devour with great eagerness. They seem perfectly harmless, but the pro-slavery portion of our community have been thrown into the utmost apparent terror, at the proximity of three or four miserable, half-starved human beings, with a color darker than their own. The common conjecture is, that they are fugitives from the southern prison house.

The depredations which it is alleged that they committed, amount, as far as I can learn, to the purloining of some coarse food from an out-house or two, and the occasional milking of cows in the neighborhood of their lurking place. Yet to judge by the alarm excited, one would suppose that the days of the 'Indian war' had come back again, and that a host of savages were lying in wait for our scalps.—Rumor has followed rumor in quick succession, concerning these mysterious visiters, who, like Goldsmith's wizzard, have

———'Prowled the country far and near,
Bewitched the children of the peasants,
Dried up the cows, and lamed the deer,
And sucked the eggs, and killed the pheasants.'

But my sheet is full. With the most earnest desires that thy labors may be under the guidance of that wisdom which is profitable to direct, and with the sincerest feelings of good will and affectionate regard, I remain thy friend.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

1. This sentence, taken in connection with the preceding implies, and we suppose was intended to imply, that the 'prominent officers' of the American A. S. Society *do* think 'the abolition of civil and church government the best means of abolishing slavery.' Now, we do not believe a single officer or member of that Society so thinks. The feeling with which we read, from such a source, the assertion implied above, was little short of unmingled astonishment. Either our esteemed friend has made a gross mistake, or we have utterly misapprehended our own opinions and those of our associates. As one to whom the Society has seen fit to give the official prominence of one of its Corresponding Secretaries, we can say, that the East and West are not wider apart than facts and the above estimations so far as it includes us. And for the rest, we never heard in public or in private, from officers or members of the Society, one syllable showing the existence of the opinion alluded to. Our associates must speak for themselves if we mistake their views, but till they do, we shall feel very confident that they do not differ from friend Whittier on this point. Who are 'the prominent officers' referred to? Lindley Coates is President, a man who votes at the polls, and performs his part faithfully as an active member of the religious society to which he belongs. Of the fifteen Vice-Presidents, we know several to be men more or less active in political life, and not more than one or two, if any, who hold what are sometimes called 'no human government' views, while every one of them, we believe, regards the abolition of government, civil or ecclesiastical, as neither an object of the A. S. Society nor one of its means, either best or otherwise, for the promotion of its objects. At all events, they have given no evidence to the contrary. The *private opinion* of our fellow Secretaries, about government

in church and state, we do not know, and with one of their number we have *no* acquaintance, but have no reason to doubt that he concurs with us in the views we have just ascribed to the Vice-Presidents, concerning the object of our Society and the means of promoting it. With the other, our acquaintance is sufficiently intimate, we think, to warrant us in pronouncing confidently that he does so. Of the Executive Committee the same may be said as of the Vice-Presidents. Who then are 'the prominent officers' who regard 'the abolition of civil and church governments as the best means of abolishing slavery!'

2. Neither are we—nor is the American A. S. Society. The temporary editor of the National A. S. Standard, does indeed say, 'we regard the American church, soiled and debased as it is by slavery, to be, *in its present state*, the worst foe of humanity, &c.' and the resolution adopted at the late meeting of the Society, qualified its censure of the church with the phrase, 'so long as it occupies its present position.' Is this [illegible] a war of extermination with the various religious sects!' If it be, we have never learned the English language. To our mind these sentences imply that the churches are to be reformed, not destroyed; to be induced to change their present position,' to be brought into a different from their present state. So far as our personal acquaintance enables us to testify, this construction accords with the sentiments of our fellow-members generally, if not universally. Does not friend Whittier believe that the Government of the United States, 'in its present position,' is the enemy of impartial freedom, and that every state government in the Union is to a greater or less degree under the same condemnation? Suppose he should say so, would it justify the inference that he means to 'wage an exterminating war with' the national and state Governments? Such an inference would be as correct as his in the sentence above.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

To the Hon. D. Webster.

Sir—Your speech at Alexandria surprised and grieved your best friends, whilst it gladdened the hearts of your secret enemies. Your discourse on that occasion will dishonor you while living, and sully your fame when dead. You were the last statesman in the land, I had thought, who would "bow the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery." For your defence of the constitution you were rewarded with the thanks of your country. For your speech at Alexandria you deserve the condemnation of every friend of liberty and humanity. Ambition has proved too strong for your principles—the love of fame stronger than the love of liberty.

Your case furnishes a remarkable illustration of the fact that no force of intellect is a match for the blandishments of office and the temptations of power. If men would discharge conscientiously their duties, the intellectual must be brought under the control of their moral power. It was here that you failed as many a gifted statesman had before. It is to be lamented that minds brilliantly endowed, and qualified to become benefactors and ornaments of their race, should seek the applause of men before the approbation of their consciences and their God. For you, there can be offered no apology; reason and conscience plead with you on that occasion, to give to the public a discourse worthy of the age and of yourself; but in an evil hour the giant yielded to that harlot popularity, and was shorn of his strength.

When Preston denounced the penalty of death against your abolition constituents, if they should dare to go South, you had not the moral courage to stand up in your place and rebuke the slaveholder's insolence. The opportunity was suffered to escape without applying to the case the great principles that lie at the foundation of the Government.—Such occasions test not only the capacity of the man, but the quality of his principles. In the history of your philanthropy it is worthy of note, that while your compassion for the Greek and Spanish patriots has flowed freely as water, the sufferings of three millions of bondmen in your native land fail to awaken your sympathies. Your benevolence has been characterized by striking contrast and inconsistency. For days you have harangued Congress against the oppression practised by the despots of other countries, but never, no, never have you uttered a word against the petty tyrants of your own. Speech after speech you have delivered against the wrongs of the Indians, but where I ask is the one invoking redress of the colored man's injuries? One day you can move, by your eloquence, the whole senate to sympathy in behalf of the broken down debtor; the next address a meeting of slaveholders in the midst of their abomination, in sight of the very shambles where they expose to public sale the victims of their inhumanity, without uttering a word of consolation for the down-trodden slave, or of indignation against the master. In your judgment it would seem the bare allusion to slavery is treason against the constitution. With you, the love of liberty is unbounded by clime, but limited as to complexion.

I had hoped that on your return from Europe your course in regard to the question of abolition would be changed—that on coming in contact with the philanthropists of Britain, Buxton, O'Connell and others, you would imbibe their spirit, and come home resolved to vindicate, like them, in the councils of your country, the holy cause of immediate and universal emancipation. But stars and garters and diadems have intoxicated your brain, and so increased your passion for worldly honors and glory, as well nigh to extinguish in your bosom all sense of justice, liberty and humanity. Sir, the time has come when it is expected of public men, not only that they abstain from the commission of positive evil, but that they be foremost and earnest in doing good. If not prepared to carry out their convictions of duty they need no longer expect to lead, but must be content to follow. The liberties of mankind are too precious an inheritance to be confided to the care of those who have the ability without the inclination to defend them. Providence has been to you bountiful in her gifts; she has endowed you with understanding above the ordinary mind, and blest you with opportunities to cultivate and improve it. She has given you sagacity to perceive the nature and operation of causes; foresight to predict, and power to obviate, in some degree, their effects. If men with inferior understanding and limited opportunities are sometimes chastised with all the rigor of the laws, for neglect of duty, what punishment should be awarded those who fail of its performance, with talents and opportunities vastly superior? A grave and solemn question which I leave to be settled hereafter between your conscience and your Maker. There will be no dodging it, as you did on the floor of Congress the question of Abolition. In the discharge of political duties, statesmen are not privileged to lay aside their moral responsibilities. [illegible] of duty, Heaven will hold all to a strict account.

A reform in the government we are told is demanded;—something must be done to bring back the vessel of state to her true course; the pilots at the helm are incompetent and unworthy, and must be driven from their posts. Sir,—the cause of the nation's calamity lies deeper than most men seem to imagine. It is interwoven into the very framework of the government. It is the *Slave power* that is cursing the land. Go then for radical reform. Drive the ploughshare deep in the soil, and lay bare to the world the giant evil. If you pause short of this, and think to find relief, you will be disappointed. If you stop short of the overthrow of slavery, you may call in thunder tones for reform and not find it. It is preposterous to talk of healing over the nation's sore while the poison of slavery is left to fester beneath. It is not a high tariff, nor a national bank, nor yet a bankrupt law (though it is easy to show that slavery is hostile to most if not to all these interests) that can restore the nation's prosperity. Nothing, save the entire overthrow of this power, can possibly ensure substantial and permanent reform. Against this power we wage a war of extermination; not from enmity, but in love to the slaveholder; not in opposition to, but in support of his true interests; not with a view to divide, but to consolidate the Union; not to foment servile war in the South, but to prevent a catastrophe at the bare thought of which humanity shudders; not to disturb the tranquillity, check the prosperity, and blast the happiness of the nation, but to place them on a foundation of adamant, to render them eternal. Having unsheathed the sword, with a firm reliance on Almighty God, we have sworn on liberty's altar not to return it to the scabbard until we conquer or expire.

Sir, I never expected to see the day when the most distinguished men of my country would be ashamed to avow themselves the friends of the slave; when they would be afraid to stand forth the champions of the divine principles of justice, liberty and humanity; when they would strive to conceal their opinions lest they should be suspected of being infected with the plague of abolition, and thereby frustrate their schemes of self-aggrandisement. These are the signs of the times that have convinced me that slavery has made fearful inroads on the moral principles and heart of this nation. If eminent senators and representatives can sit still and hear their constituents reviled, and threatened with death should they dare exercise their constitutional rights; if they can condescend to court and flatter and be flattered by slaveholders; above all, if they are prepared to aid them in their tyrannical attempt to gag their fellow-citizens, what more is wanted to convince any man that liberty is in danger, the constitution is in peril, that the foundation is being undermined, and the superstructure nodding to its fall.

Sir, slavery tolerates no rival near her throne. She exacts tribute—demands absolute homage of all. Every human being who refuses to bow down and worship at her altar she marks as her foe, and gives neither rest nor quarter until she triumphs over all. The South will hold out to you the prospect of the Presidency, as a reward for abandonment of principle. Sir, I would not trust them; they will never seek for another Chief Magistrate as far north as Kinderhook. There is something in the very atmosphere of New England fatal to their peculiar institution. Well do they know that a descendant of the pilgrims is not the man to rule over them.

It is said you agree with us in principle, but cannot concur with us as to time—that things are sometimes lawful that are not expedient; that the South having a guarantee in the constitution for her institutions, any attempt to overthrow slavery either by moral or political action within the letter of the constitution, may notwithstanding be a violation of its spirit. Sir, there is nothing in the letter or spirit of the constitution that forbids our noble enterprize—on the contrary an abundance to authorize our going farther than we have. It is the essence of the constitution that liberty be preserved unfettered and rendered immortal. The South, however, boldly demand a surrender of the liberty of speech, and the press, and the right of petition, as essential to the preservation of their cherished institution. This proves that it is not among things possible for liberty and slavery to dwell together in harmony. They are antagonists—belligerents. The weakness of one is the strength of the other, the diminution of one is the growth of the other; the life of one is the death of the other. Let slavery alone, and she will strengthen her cords and augment her power. Assail her promptly and vigorously, and it is possible you may overcome her before she overcomes her adversary. If we would disenthrall the country from the curse of slavery, we must strike immediately for liberty, "in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God."

In conclusion, as life approaches the close, may you have the assurance that you have not wholly lived in vain—that you have given to the world a new idea—that as a statesman and law giver, you have aided in the enactment of wise laws and resisted the passage of vicious ones—that you have assisted to bind up the broken hearted, to remove the heavy burdens of your fellow mortals, to reform the institutions, to increase the grandeur and glory of your country, the recollection of which will be to your mind a never failing fount of joy and consolation in time and eternity.

PUBLICOLA.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

The London Convention and the Excluded Delegates.

We had not room last week for the following resolutions of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society touching the right of women to seats in the Convention of the 12th ult., and the dignified reply of the female delegates from this state. It will be seen by them that the Committee assumed the right of deciding who should and who should not be members of the Convention. We think the American delegates did perfectly right in refusing to acquiesce in this claim, and in calling on the Convention itself to decide its question. We believe the great majority of the tried and true Abolitionists of this country who have "seen service" in the cause in its most trying times, will concur with us in this opinion, and unite in approving the manly course of W. Phillips, Professor Adam, George Bradburn, Dr. Bowring and others, who contended against the improper assumption of the Committee, and in favor of the right of the Convention and its constituency to say of whom it should be composed. We are pleased to learn, too, as we do by a most interesting letter from Wendell Phillips, in the last Liberator, that H. B. Stanton was among those who voted against the exclusion of the women.

At a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society held at 27 New Broad street, on Tuesday the 9th of June, 1840,

W. D. Crewdson, Esq., in the chair,

A letter having been read, addressed to the Secretary, dated Boston, 24th April, signed by Francis Jackson, President, and W. L. Garrison, Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, stating that several ladies had been appointed as delegates to the approaching Convention, it was unanimously

Resolved, That this Committee, in the original summons of the Convention, did not contemplate, collectively or individually, the admission of ladies.

That at a subsequent period in the letter of the 15th of February, extensively circulated on both sides of the Atlantic, the invitation is addressed to gentlemen exclusively.

That the subject having been brought seriously and deliberately before the committee on the 15th of May, it was unanimously determined that ladies were inadmissible as delegates, and it is now again resolved, without a single dissentient voice, that this opinion be confirmed and respectfully communicated to the parties in question.

WM. DILLWORTH CREWSON, Chairman.

The above having been communicated to the female delegates from Pennsylvania, the following reply was sent to the committee.

The American women, delegates from Pennsylvania to the World's Convention, would present to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society their grateful acknowledgments for the kind attentions received by them since their arrival in London. But while as individuals they return thanks for those favors, as delegates from the bodies appointing them they deeply regret to learn by the receipt of a series of resolutions passed at a meeting of your committee held at New Broad st., on Tuesday the 9th of June, 1840, Wm. D. Crewdson in the chair, bearing reference to a letter containing credentials addressed to the Secretary of the above society, that it is contemplated to exclude women from a seat in the Convention as coequals in the advocacy of universal liberty.

The delegates will duly communicate to their constituents the intimation which these resolutions convey; in the mean time they stand prepared to co-operate to any extent and in any form, consistent with their instructions, in promoting the just objects of the Convention, to whom it is presumed will belong the power of determining the validity of any claim to a seat in that body.

On behalf of the delegates,

Very respectfully,

SARAH PUGH.

From the Liberator.

Another Clerical Endorser for Gen. Harrison.

We lost a subscriber, a short time since, for the allusion we made to the Rev. Dr. Holmes' endorsement of the religious character of Gen. Harrison, and perhaps we shall lose another for venturing to express our opinion upon the conduct of a southern clergyman who has suffered himself to be used as a tool for promoting the election of a proslavery man to the Presidency. But no matter. We shall not, for such a reason, suppress our convictions in view of a course so utterly inconsistent with a Christian profession.

A man, who signs himself 'An Old Methodist Preacher,' has published a letter in the Augusta (Geo.) Reformer, (!) in which he declares, that although he never in his life subscribed for a purely political paper, nor attended a purely political meeting, he can stand it no longer! He must give relief to his over-burdened spirit by a shout for the hero of Tippecanoe! He recommends the whole Methodist fraternity to give him their support on account of his former kindness and hospitality to the preachers of that denomination. [illegible] "ing" was this distinguished statesman," he gravely states, that, "on a cold and boisterous night, a young preacher came to the General's when he lived at Vincennes; that the latter accompanied the former to the meeting-house; that, owing to the inclemency of the weather, not a soul attended, except the General and a soldier; that, notwithstanding the intensity of the cold and the small number present, the General [O most incredible condescension!] actually sat through the whole service, 'at the foot of the steps leading to the pulpit, giving the most profound attention to the discourse;' and that, at the close of the meeting, he actually 'got up, and taking a candle out of the candlestick, held it in his hand close to the preacher, while he was talking and singing over the poor soldier!'" The closing part of the letter is so touching, that we cannot forbear to copy it.

"This little incident made a deep impression (!) on my mind, and endeared the man to me ever after. I thought I could see in it his great love for religion and the sacred truths of the gospel,—(!!!) his great respect for the minister of Jesus Christ, (!) in condescending, statesman, General, and Governor as he was, (!) to become a *candle-holder* for a poor, young, inexperienced Methodist preacher. (!!!) His great philanthropy (!) in remaining in the meetinghouse, of a cold winter's night, if he, by so doing, could only accidentally be tributary to the happiness of a poor soldier. Such a man is worthy to fill the office of President of the United States, and members of the Methodist Church, he is now before you. Will you remember his former kindness to your preachers? You now have it in your power to do something for him, who, in the days of your suffering, did so much for you. Requite, then, his generosity, whose house was always open to your preachers, and where they, in sickness, suffering and death, were sure to find a home."

This is indeed a pretty chapter of reasons for elevating to the Presidential chair, a man whose soul is so dead to every principle of humanity, that, for the sake of reaching that high station, he will condescend to become the miserable tool of slaveholders, and trample under his feet the rights and happiness of three millions of victims! And yet his conduct is no worse than that of the Methodist Conference, or the Presbyterian General Assembly.

From the Journal of Commerce.

Important Decision.

In another part of our paper will be found a decision delivered in the United States Court, by Judge Betts, in the case of the schooner Catherine, an American vessel, captured near the coast of Africa by a British cruiser, for being engaged in the transportation of slaves, and brought into this port. On the 15th of June, 1839, the agent of the owners chartered her to a man named Thrasher, for a voyage from Havana to Principe; and on the 25th of the same month the agent contracted to sell her to a man named Teran for $10,000, and to deliver her at Bona, on the coast of Africa, on or before the first day of October following. The vessel was laden and despatched by the charterer, and was captured by the British cruiser on the 13th of August, while prosecuting her voyage near the coast of Africa.—The cargo and equipments of the vessel when captured left no doubt that she was to be employed in the transportation of slaves, nor did the Court entertain any doubt that such was the fact. But his Honor Judge Betts decided that she was illegally captured, and, amongst other reasons for this opinion, (see report,) stated that "there is nothing in the statutes of the United States to reach the case of an American vessel built and fitted out for the slave trade, but actually sold to a foreigner and employed by him." The vessel therefore, having been sold to Teran before she left Havana, and before she was equipped as a slaver, although still under the American flag, and not yet actually delivered to Teran, had nevertheless so far lost her American character that she was no longer responsible to the laws of the United States for being engaged in the slave trade. This we take to be the fair and legitimate import of His Honor's decision, and coming from such high authority, we must presume it to be the law. Admitting it then to be so, what a wide field does it open for American vessels to engage in the Slave trade, without incurring much risk of being captured, or any of the craw being treated as pirates. An American ship-builder may construct as many ships as he pleases, for the Slave trade,—send them with or without a cargo to any part out of the United States, and there make a sham sale of them to some foreigner residing at a slave market, and from that moment the vessel may to a certain extent engage in the slave trade with the most perfect impunity as regards the only two maritime powers that take any interest in the matter! The cruizers of the United States cannot seize such vessels, they having become so far donationalized as to be no longer within the provisions of the United States law, although under the American flag. And for the same reason, English cruizers dare not seize them. They dare not seize them as American vessels, because they have violated no American law, and are no more subject to capture by a British vessel than any other American ship which is pursuing a legitimate trade. And then, the vessel being under American colors and having American papers, what pretence could a British cruizer have for seizing her as a ship belonging to some other nation! In short, according to this decision, an American ship, by a little management, can escape all the hazard of a voyage in quest of slaves, until she arrives at the place where she is to be delivered to her real or assumed purchaser, which would be of course the place where her cargo of slaves were ready for her.

We will only add, that if our laws are so defective as to permit the aiding and abetting of a traffic which the nation has officially denounced as PIRACY, it is high time they were amended, or superseded by others. If we mistake not, Mr. Cushing, of Massachusetts, intended to introduce a bill at the late session of Congress, having this important object in view,—perhaps he did introduce it,—but such was the rage for politics, that nothing could be accomplished. We trust he will persevere, and that, at the next session, (as the Presidential question will then have been disposed of,) a law will be passed which will put an end to the enormous wickedness which is daily perpetrated under the AMERICAN FLAG!

* * *

The remarks of the editor of the Pensylvania Freeman apply with equal force to ourselves. Our friend Goodel's cause must be bad, when he finds himself obliged to resort to misrepresentation

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

How does it Happen?

We will thank brother Goodell just to keep his own side of the hedge, and not lug in the name of the Freeman in such an unwarrantable connection, in his controversy with the Liberator. Had he been content to let us alone, we should have offered no hindrance to his fruitless efforts at reuniting the tissue of his sophistry, clipped in pieces so effectually by brother Johnson. We should not even have given a puff of breath to scatter the lint to which it has been reduced.

But, when he tries to strengthen his argument by telling or *implying* about us what has not the shadow of truth, he can hardly expect us to give, by silence, our consent to the groundless charge. These remarks are occasioned by the following passage in a letter of brother Goodell's, published in the last Liberator:

"And how happens it that the 'Herald of Freedom,' 'the organ' of the New Hampshire State Anti-Slavery Society, and the 'Pennsylvania Freeman,' the 'organ' of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society, and the 'National Anti-Slavery Standard,' the 'organ' of the American Anti-Slavery Society, can all of them raise high the standard of non-resistant principles and measures,—(proscribing, in some instances, all who dissent, as untrue to Abolition,) if those same measures are 'foreign to the Anti-Slavery enterprise!'"

"How happens it," that our good brother has lost at once his own clear and sound logic, and his accuracy in the statement of facts? He has never seen a sentence in the Freeman, which goes to sustain his implied allegation. To use his own words, in another part of his letter, we "would charitably hope that" he "does not fully perceive the drift of his own" question, "or the nature and scope of his own" insinuation. The Freeman has never raised, high or low, "the standard of non-resistant principles and measures;" and if there could be a less than nothing, we might add, still less has it proscribed any body for dissenting from it. What it *can* do in that way, we have no inclination to prove by experiment; for unlike brother Goodell, in this matter, we choose to keep in "appropriate sphere, as an official editor."

A CREATIVE MEMORY.

Since writing the above notice of brother Goodell's hit at us in his Liberator letter, we have met the annexed sentence in the Friend of Man.

"We remembered, too, that the Herald of Freedom, the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and the Pennsylvania Freeman, (under its new editor,) were all official organs of anti-slavery societies, and all took the ground of non-resistants, on the contested questions of the day, and propagated those sentiments."

The memory of most men has to wait till after an event has happened before it can retain it. We congratulate our good brother on the vastly superior quickness and power of his [illegible] the intention.

Quaker Colonizationists.

It is well known that many members of the Society of Friends are active supporters of the Colonization Scheme, but as they are mostly occupants of the "high seats," no yearly meeting has ever regarded *this* as a reason for advising its members to be careful how they united with others to promote benevolent objects. Probably the slaveholders and their fighting allies in Liberia are not considered so dangerous companions as the Abolitionists! We commend the following remarks of the Pensylvania Freeman to those members of the Society of Friends who support the scheme of expatriation.

The worthy members of the Society of Friends, who have favored the Colonization Scheme, and contributed to its promotion, may now contemplate, with all the satisfaction it is calculated to produce, the conclusive evidence which G. S. Brown and "brothers Harris and Demory" and the heroes of the Gaytoombah town mission have afforded, that their donations have not been misappropriated, or thrown away on persons incompetent to defend them from the spoiler. With how much greater confidence can they contribute to the cause hereafter, when they think of the blood puddles and the brain-sprinkled way-side—of the "tornado" of buckshot and the flames of the burning harvest, and the howls of terror and shrieks of anguish;—when they call to mind Goterah's severed head, exhibited "to the unspeakable joy of the whole assembly" of Christian colonists and native allies—and when they remember that their money has aided to purchase the means of this havoc of human life, and that they have therefore a right to a proportionate share of credit, for the "salutary influence" which the "gory victory" must have exerted "upon the native tribes." How must every real disciple of the Prince of Peace rejoice at the "animating" spectacle of the missionary slugs, "opening a wide door for civilization and Christianity," through "solid masses of living human flesh," by cutting down the native hosts "like mowers cutting grass." Will they—can they permit "the 5th of July" to pass without raising "fifteen or twenty thousand dollars," to send out by the Saluda "a cargo" of gunpowder, slugs and buckshot, of muskets and field pieces, and a company of "emigrants" to use them in destroying Paganism, and diffusing Christianity!—*Liberator.*

Tribute to Worth.

We published recently extracts from a letter writen by that aged and venerable father in the cause of liberty, Seth Sprague. The Herald of Freedom of the 17th ult., contains an eloquent article over the signature of M. A. C., (Moses A. Cartland,) from which we select the following tribute to the worth of our aged friend.

In commencing these remarks, however, we had another individual in our mind, distinguished alike for his fidelity in the cause of Emancipation, and for the prompt, unhesitating manner in which he gives it his support. We allude to the venerable Seth Sprague of Massachusetts. There is something winning in the honesty, zeal, and straight-forwardness of the old man. He asks nothing of the world—has no selfish ambition to gratify—but throws himself with a noble disinterestedness into the cause of the imbruted bondman. We have looked upon him with peculiar interest, as we have seen him standing up among the young champions of freedom—New England's noblest and worthiest sons—and as his silvery locks shone in solitary whiteness amid the throng, we have seen him urging them on to duty and to faithfulness, with a voice that bespoke the counsellor and the sage. And yet that venerable man, standing as it were on the threshhold of the grave—when ambition no longer holds out its alluring bauble, and the world's applause echoes its idle mockery in his ear—even he must wear the mark of the fanatic, and be stigmatized as the enemy of his country and his kind! For such indeed would the world make him. Let the boasting and noisy *patriots* who clamor about the sacredness of property vested in living man—these "Christian brokers in the trade of blood"—look upon that bowed figure and that serene countenance, and feel themselves rebuked—if feel they can.—*Liberator.*

State Convention.

At the annual meeting of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, in June last, the following resolution was unanimously passed.

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to call a State Convention in the early part of autumn, to devise and prosecute measures to advance our enterprise, and also to hear a report from our delegate to the World's Convention."

The time for the Convention, as specified in the resolution, is drawing nigh: and the necessity for it is very apparent. Never, surely, in this State, did the anti-slavery enterprise wear a more interesting aspect than at the present hour. All its foes are marshalled and marshalling to work its overthrow. Church and state, aristocracy and mobocracy, clerical arrogance clad in *Panoply*, (though not divine,) colonization and new organization, are all in fraternal league against it. "The clergy are with us," says F. P. Tracy, of the New-Hampshire Abolition Society. "WE have got the clergy and WE shall get the people of course. We have got them NOW. We can get thousands where you old organizationists cannot get one. You have not enough in Concord for officers of the town society." Right, thought we, you have "got the *clergy* and the people." We yield it at once.

"You old organizationists have done about all you can do," said Alanson St. Clair, co-laborer with Mr. Tracy. "I can get up a large society in Portsmouth, but you have done about all there, that you can do. WE shall get the clergy." But what then? Will the slaves rejoice? Ask the people, the parishioners of the clergymen. The clergy patronize the Abolition Standard. Rogers of Bradford and Tracy of Boscawen, are subscribers. New organization says, "they are with us." And new organization is therefore above reproach.

But the old New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, where is that? Forsaken by the "sound, judicious and enlightened," denounced, reviled and belied by a great portion of the clergy; barked at by almost every yelping political puppy who wags his tail or laps his chops under the table of Van Buren, or who hopes to under that of Gen. Harrison when the Panoply's "hard cider party" shall have drowned out the present occupant of the white house, with a deluge of "hard cider;" spurned with sovereign contempt by the bedizened, carpeted and cushioned aristocracy, who allow their domestics to scatter in the minds of their children with unsparing hand, the seeds of prejudice against color, by frightening them into their duty with all manner of "old nigger stories;" branded by new organization from Maine to Mason and Dixon's line, as a no-government, non-resistant, woman's rights society, recreant to the cause of the slave, and thrown for support by all of priest and Levite spirit entirely on the hands of 'certain Samaritans,' or those who it said, heard our Saviour "gladly," "the common people."

Such is the present position of the old state organization. Nor have any of the *strongest* reasons why we should have a convention, been mentioned. The Board of Managers need at this crisis the council of their constituents and friends. New-Hampshire's abolition should go into a "committee of the whole." A vigorous effort ought at once to be made, to relieve the society of the burden of its debts.—Something too must be done on the subject of agents. A very few, tried and faithful, have been employed. But most of those to whom we have applied, have farms, or merchandize, or shops, or wives and children, or they are guilty of "the atrocious crime of being a young man," or as friend Archibald has it, of being "beardless bishops," and therefore think their labors will not be acceptable and efficient. This is a source of great difficulty to the Board.

The voice of the abolitionists is also wanted on the question, whether brother Rogers shall leave us and go to New-York.

Decisive and immediate steps must also be taken in relation to the Herald of Freedom. The formation of the new state society, has given many an excuse for discontinuing it, though they have not yet to any extent, become the patrons of the Abolition Standard.

The reasons for calling a Convention are many. And there will be attractions there. Rogers will be on the ground, ready to stand at the bar of his constituents, and be tried for not joining the conference of the London Committee. And he will be able to tell of the progress of righteousness and truth and free principles in the old world; for the "gallery" is no bad place for observation.

And Garrison too will be there. He who in Providence was permitted to be the archangel of Freedom, to the western hemisphere, rending the slavery-darkened heavens with the notes of Liberty from his mighty trump. The hated, persecuted, slandered Garrison, whose only offence, even the most blasphemous among his ten thousand foulmouthed vituperators admit, is his terrible rebuke of a war and slavery-sustaining church and ministry. And whether those rebukes are not called for, the community are fast finding out.

These are the head and front of offending.—"Infidel, devil," "fiend incarnate," "spirit from hell," "arch apostate," and "archangel of iniquity," as we have often heard him called, we never heard *one breath* against his moral character. On the contrary, the friends of peace, of temperance, of moral reform, have ever found in him a bold and faithful friend.

The ladies too, will hold another *Fair* in connexion with the meeting. Let those who *can* patronize it bear it in mind. It is becoming a notorious fact, (to the shame of their "*lords*" be it spoken,) that nothing can be done, not even the building Bunker's Hill monument, or a New-Hampshire Theological Seminary, without the direct co-operation of the women. But New Hampshire *Anti-Slavery* women,—whose tongue or pen is worthy to speak their praise! While we have been quarrelling about, and with a corrupt pro-slavery ministry, and other sources of new organization strife, they have been silently "with all subjection" plying the needles "at home," and have actually done more in the six mouths, to pay off our debts than the whole State Society has done for the past year!!

Let the women be remembered at the Fair. They labor and earn the money, and their "lords" come together on election week, and vote it to what purpose we please. So takes the lordly savage the corn and the beans, the products of the labor of his faithful squaw,—and so the rapacious bloodsuckers of the South, rob the half-fed, toil-worn slave, of what he has wrung from the soil,—and who shall say to either "what doest thou?"

There ought to be a Convention if for no other purpose than that the women may hold a Fair. More diligent than the silk-worm they toil and spin, that they may have wherewith to bless the slave. Let them be remembered.

Many, perhaps most of the Abolitionists in the State, will have occasion to visit Concord once or more during the ensuing autumn. Perhaps by a little forecast they may so arrange their affairs, as to accomplish all by coming to the convention. Abolitionists of the old society find it necessary—and they generally know how to practice economy. Let them calculate a little, and the most of them may attend a convention, and be little the poorer in purse, and much richer in Anti-Slavery faith. Grafton county away in "the hill country," is calling loudly. A voice from Cocheco Falls is also heard in its behalf. Let the word be passed round. At our annual meeting last June, when half a mile of the Anti-Slavery of the State moved through the street from the Court House to the South Church, the drunken rabble in front of the tavern amused themselves by hissing at them, and shouting, "what a string o' niggers." At the Convention [illegible] a much longer "string o' niggers" be there to rouse their raised ire.—P.

Herald of Freedom.

The circumstances described in the following letter seem to be very similar to the Darg case, which not long since produced so much excitement in this city, and which resulted in the exposure of the corruption of several of the police department. But when we consider the morbid state of public feeling, as exhibited in some of the laws lately enacted in that State, in relation to the colored people, and which are a disgrace to any civilized country, we cannot be surprised at any act of oppression and injustice they may perpetrate.

OHIO, July 31, 1840.

FRIEND HOPPER:—The Standard arrives at this office mailed to the address of several subscribers to the Liberator. I expect shortly to be able to send on five or six subscribers to it, and intended not to write till I could send the money. I begin to feel so much interest and attachment to the paper that, though fear you may get discouraged and stop sending, I address this note in explanation of the reasons for delay.

Several persons are accused, (and will receive their trial next week,) on the charge of grand larceny, abduction of negroes, &c. &c. It is said that they assisted some helpless women and children to escape from a Virginian, who last fall attempted to make this free soil a high road to drive his human cattle from Virginia to Missouri upon. He is, it is said, a most abandoned wretch, and with his family, have perjured themselves most deeply in endeavoring to establish the loss of $1,500, in money, at the time of the escape of the slaves. None of those accused, are rich, and having to pay lawyers, and other incidental expenses, with the prospect of, possibly, a fine to satisfy the pro-slavery feelings of the community, and save the State the costs of prosecution, would render it imprudent in them to subscribe just yet. I hope soon to forward six or seven names. What a glorious Standard have we now unfolded to the breeze! *Its* stars of truth illuminating the moral hemisphere, towards which their rays are directed. *Its* stripes will be felt and acknowledged by error, whether marshalling the combat from the South under the banner of perpetual slavery, or from the North under that of new organization. No fears that it will ever fall into the hands of the enemy!

Letter from William Adams.

Among the delegates from this country to the London Conference was that sterling friend of the cause, William Adams of Pawtucket. His son has furnished us with the following extracts of a letter written by him at London,—which although they contain little that is new, will be read with interest.

The vessel in which we sailed was detained several days after the time of sailing. The captain did not come on board until the day she sailed. I had been on board but a few hours, when I was struck by the second mate, because I attempted to intercede in behalf of one of the hands, whom he was abusing in the most cruel manner. I was not much hurt. When I recovered, I recollected I was a non-resistant, and had resolved to preach that doctrine and *abolition* while on board. I said nothing, but walked to my berth. I found I had the sympathy of all the passengers. After finding that Charles L. Remond was [illegible] companion, he caused a narrow bed to be put up, two feet wide, and said I might sleep there with my 'nigger.' He was disappointed. The persons to whom he gave our berth did not take it, therefore I had it to myself, and Charles had the other. We had one each, while the others slept two in a berth. Most of the steerage passengers treated us well as far as they knew, but *many* of them were Irish and Roman Catholics; and as long as their rum lasted, they were drunk most of the time. A *portion* of the cabin passengers were intoxicated nearly every day.

After a pleasant, but rather a long *passage*, we arrived at the city of cities. We arrived here on the 17th. The meeting was organized on the 12th. We found they had refused to admit Lucretia Mott and the other female delegates. They also denied having called such a Convention as our credentials described, and said that the American abolitionists had given it that name. The Committee of the British and Foreign A. S. Society claimed the sole right to say what business should come before the meeting, and in what manner it should be disposed of. Under these circumstances, our duty appeared plain to us, viz., to decline taking seats under such aristocratic proceedings. We therefore took our seats in a small gallery, or what you would term a negro pew, where we have just room to look down upon them. Garrison, Rogers, Remond and myself have come across the Atlantic, and are not allowed to enter the body of the house, but go to our seats by an outside way. To prevent any body from entering they keep a sentry at the door. Great curiosity has been felt by the people to know why some of the American delegates are shut out. The reason given by the committee is, that they are *no-government* and *women's rights* men, &c. The first day we sat *alone* in the gallery, but, on the second day, the people, wishing to see how we looked, came and went the whole day. Finding that we looked somewhat like other men, now they think the secret lies in our principles, and are anxious to hear us, that they may know what we have to say. Lady Byron was among the first to venture up into our small gallery. She sat down beside C. L. Remond and myself, and informed us who the speakers were, for we were so far away that we could not hear.—George Thompson observed to me that *abolition in England* had been but a plaything. It is one thing here and another in America. I see now that the great moral and religious warfare is to be fought in America. Lucretia Mott and Wm. Lloyd Garrison are styled infidels. The truth of the matter is, the new organizers had new organized before we arrived.

At a soiree, William Lloyd Garrison was so loudly called for by the people, that he stepped forward and bore a faithful testimony against the unfaithfulness of the friends of the cause, who went to America, and did not do their duty on that subject while there; especially Joseph John Gurney, Dr. Cox, Hoby, &c. He spoke fearlessly of the conduct of the committee in calling such a Convention, and then denying it; also of war, and of woman slavery, which had been exercised over the female delegates. Our new organizers made no reply.

We have been very kindly received by the British abolition friends in their private capacity. The entire delegation from America have been invited at different times to the houses of the leading friends of the cause, and many have questioned us on non-resistance, &c. We have not failed to bear our testimony for the truth. I stated that I thought it would be as great a crime for the *Queen* to have the young man executed who attempted to assassinate her the other day, as it would have been for him to have taken her life. This seems strange doctrine here, but there are none able to confute it.

To-day I visited the Tower. I sat on the block upon which the heads of Lady Jane Grey and others were laid when they were executed. I also handled the hatchet with which they were beheaded. The scene is one of horror.

Liberator.

To the Editor of the Standard:

FRIEND EDITOR—The following lines were written some twelve months since by a Yankee Farmer, who dwells among the mountains of northwestern Connecticut, in the Album of an intelligent dairy girl, who was at that time pro-slavery—she is now an Abolitionist. If you wish to write them on your banner, they are at your service. Farmers and dairy maids are holding up the Standard with an arm of firm muscle.

Song of the Yankee Girl.

Choke down at once each living thing
That whispers of the rights of man—
Gag the free girl that dares to sing
Of freedom, o'er her dairy pan.

Whittier.

I will sing, I will sing, though the hymn be unread—
Though no prayer for the slave at the altar be said—
I will sing while the hope of my country I see—
I will lighten my heart with the song of the free.

I will sing, though the South-man in anger forbid,
That his deeds in the silence of night may be hid:
I will sing, though the North-man reproachfully say
"'Tis not well thus to sing of sweet freedom all day."

Don't the birds sing of freedom? And why should not I?
God hears them and even young ravens that cry—
The brooks murmur sweetly and sing, as they play,
Of the frost chain of slavery all melted away.

Lo the trees bow their heads, though you bid them be still,
When the strong winds of freedom sweep over the hill.
And the glad stars of morning, when clouds break away,
Seem to sing altogether of freedom's bright day.

Hark! a voice from the islands sounds clear and more clear,
They are tuning a song for the nations to hear—
O I'll join in the anthem, their glad souls to greet,
While they sing of new freedom, "too good" and "too sweet."

Thus did Miriam sing by the joy swelling sea,
When Jehovah had triumphed and Israel was free—
And thus Deborah proclaimed that the Lord in his might,
With the "stars in their courses," had fought for the right.

Oh my country be wise, ere the vengeance at hand,
On thy war-wasted border shall sweep o'er the land!
Thus we penned our petitions, as Yankee girls plead;
But our prayer was unheard as Mahomet decreed.

And they say that we females are quite out of place,
When, like Esther, we sue for a down-trodden race:
We must harden our hearts and sit mute by the hearth,
That we too may be slaves to the "Lords of the earth."

I cannot, though they call me fanatic in zeal,
It is not my own wrongs that I wish you to feel;
But in kindness I warn you of judgment to come,
When you too, like the slave, may be friendless and dumb.

Who has made you to differ? Who made your skin white?
And who gave you the heart-stirring spirit of light?
And who taught you that mercy for mercy is given,
And that kindness on earth shall meet kindness in Heaven.

Oh I'm sad while I sing, for I mourn that so few
Have come out to the help of the faithful and true!
Do ye wait for the priest? Do ye wait for the crowd!
They will all hasten on when the triumph is loud.

Some are waiting to see how the popular wind blows,
They will float with the current wherever it flows.
Some are slaves unto prejudice, party and gain,
And they make a strange gang in the slavemaster's train.

Do ye deem me severe and unmerciful? Hold!
Have ye heard how the child from the mother is sold?
Have ye thought of the slave-ships in Maryland's bay?
Of home severed victims dragged mourning away?

If ye thought but of this, and much more could I bring,
You'd not deem me severe while in sadness I sing,
You would mourn as I mourn when my hope is most chill'd,
And the sunlight of freedom sinks low on the hill.

Now the storm-cloud is passing, and light breaking forth
Shall outshine the lone fugitive's star of the North.
'Tis the Austerlitz sun of glad triumph we hail,
For the banner of freedom that floats on the gale.

Thus ungagged will I sing, though the hymn be unread,
And no prayer for the slave at the altar be said
I will sing while the hope of my country I see,
And I'll lighten my heart with the song of the free.

S. H. MCALPINE.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

"We can't get people to read Anti-Slavery publications. They don't feel sufficient interest."

The above I find to be the general complaint wherever I go. Is it not the grand difficulty throughout our 'slavery besotted' North? I believe it is, and I also believe it can be removed so that the flood of publications, daily thrown off by the Anti-Slavery press, may not, as now, fall unread in the highways and byways, or be used as wrapping paper. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not think we have too many publications, but too few lecturers. Lecturers must still go forward and break up the stubborn soil, casting in seed from the press as they go. *Hundreds* will go out to *hear* in places where you cannot get *one* to *read*. This is the present condition of our North, although I know a different opinion seems to be entertained by some who fancy the country pretty thoroughly roused, and therefore the instrumentality of lecturers not now so much needed. In one sense the country is thoroughly roused—roused to the defence of slavery. A FACT.—In a quiet country town, off among the Green Mountains, a few evenings since a meeting was called to hear the wrongs of the slave. Before the time arrived for the commencement of the meeting, rumor said there would be disturbance. But it only ex[illegible] on the part of the peaceful inhabitants. The meeting commenced and although pretty quiet within, there was noise without and soon a rum bottle not entirely empty, was hurled from the entry at the lecturer. It hit the desk and fell in shivers on the floor. This was followed by clubs and other missiles, which broke the glass and sashes, and resulted in breaking up the meeting. No person was much injured. The greater part of the people were astonished that they had really witnessed a mob in their own town.—The few friends of freedom there will continue the discussion till their rights are re-established. One of the mobocrats is a brother of the notorious District Attorney, Hollabird. I relate this fact, which is one among many of a similar nature that have been witnessed by the summer of 1840, for the purpose of showing what is the real state of the quiet anti-mob towns all over the North. There are thousands, in which a hearing cannot be had, and thousands of others, in which the people would pledge themselves that a mob could not be got up, and yet, when Anti-Slavery enters, behold! the hosts are straightway mustered for the battle! *In such places* as those do we expect people will read our publications? No—then let the living voice be heard in them, troubling the stagnant waters, that, if may be, some one may step in and be healed, and if one sound spirit is left in a place, it shall do mightily for the God of the oppressed.

I would that not seventy, but seven hundred could be found, who, deeply penetrated with love to the slave, would feel constrained to go forward, forgetful of self, and remembering that the Lord works by simple and despised instruments that no glory may be taken to man. I say I would that seven hundred of this spirit could be found, who would feel themselves drawn to go forth in apostolic fashion, leaning on the Lord alone for support, and looking alone to him for guidance. Such an army would chase the foul spirit of slavery from the North in short time, and then, as he should stand "at bay" in his South, he would give one howl of despair, as the weapons of truth from every hand should seal his death. Who will come out to do the battles of the God of the slave? Who?

WITHOUT PURSE OR SCRIPT.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

"Without Concealment—without Compromise."

It were well for those who have adopted such a motto to look well to their steps and ponder their ways, for in acting up to its requisitions consists our power. Either not having discovered the true ground, or, having discovered it, give up one inch and that wherein our great strength lieth is seized upon by the enemy, and we are shorn of our strength and become powerless in his hands. Yet how slow is the world to comprehend this truth. How blind are the greater part of those who earnestly desire to leave the world better than they found it, to the true philosophy of reform. It is the policy of almost all the reformers of the present day, to take the "sword of the spirit" and blunt its edge more or less, thinking, if wielded in its original sharpness, its strokes will be too powerful, and so have a tendency to hinder the desired work. By this means they wear themselves out in vain efforts with powerless instruments, while the foe at which they aim, seeing their design, but not being annihilated by that which is "sharper than any two edged sword to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, bones and marrow" turns upon them, and overcomes them. Christ gave his disciples "power to tread on serpents and scorpions and over all the power of the enemy." Will he not vouchsafe to his true disciples as much in this day!

In pleading the cause of the slave let us make no compromise. Let us handle the truth in its might. Let us ask full justice, if we would procure anything. I have been deeply grieved at the course generally pursued—the asking for the mere liberty of our brother. O! let us demand, in the stern language of justice, that his oppressors—among whom we must rank ourselves for our participancy in the wrong—should give him, not only his person back to himself, but that they should make, so far as in them lies, full compensation—compensation for the patrimony wrested from his ancestors, for the plundered wealth his own hands have earned for the degradation of soul consequent upon the robbery of his manhood, for riven heartstrings, for blunted sensibilities, for dried up sympathies, for the "spark ethereal" now almost quenched.

Yes, in our suit for our deeply injured brother, let us not lay the damages too low. Let us say the wealth of the South belongs to him, for he and his fathers performed the labor which procured it. The scanty pittance which paid the nominal price to the poor Indians for the original soil, was long ago exhausted by the idle slaveholder, and he has been too long sustained in his "splendid pauperism" by those whom he looks upon with contempt and hate.

Should we not say to the oppressors "repent and bring forth fruits meet for repentance," by binding up the hearts you have broken and by a life of self-denial and sacrifice make some poor amends for the countless wrongs heaped upon your brother from generation to generation. Feed his starving mind with knowledge, assist his spirit in its upward tendencies, administer the [illegible] of healing to his lacerated affections; lead him in the way everlasting towards the haven of rest. Toil for him; let your lives be spent in his service, and then, although you will but just have begun to repay him, you will have done what you could.

Would all those who open their mouths for the slave or plead his cause with their pens, take this ground of even justice, we should witness the most happy effects. So far as this course has been pursued, the results have been vastly better than that produced by the half measure plan.—When we recognize the slave fully as our dear brother, and demand for him what we would demand for ourselves under like circumstances, then it is that our efforts tell most powerfully upon the hearts and consciences of his enemies. Let us cast from us, then, at once and forever, this spirit of compromise which would concede to the Pharaohs of America, "the flocks and the herds," if they will but let the people go; and let us say to them not only "the flocks and the herds," but also "the jewels of silver and the jewels of gold."

JUSTICE.

"Man does not feel for Man."—The Democratic Press says, the following facts have been communicated on such authority as leaves no room to doubt their accuracy. A negro slave in Maryland was about to be sold for $300 in the spring to a Georgian planter, when a white man interfered and purchased the negro, who, on the payment of the purchase money, $300, with interest, was to be manumitted. Late in July last, the Maryland purchaser came to Philadelphia, and induced the negro to go with him to that State for the purpose of making, as he said, some official declaration, which it was necessary to have done in open court. The negro had repaid $140 of the purchase money. He and the white man left the city together, and the negro has never been permitted to return. Of him and his destination, we have ascertained the following particulars. The day after he left Philadelphia, at the first stage at which they stopped in Maryland, he was seized and put in irons, $400 was paid for him, by a person said to have come from and to reside in Alabama, and he was rapidly taken out of the State.—This is a known case of inhumanity.

Female Influence.—Father Mathew, in one of his discourses on temperance, thus speaks of female influence: "When the next batch was brought up the Rev. gentleman said that it was pleasing to see the manner in which they continued to come forward in increasing numbers, [illegible] a still more gratifying circumstance to see the women and children come up in such numbers. [illegible] happiness of society depends, in a great measure, on [illegible] being properly disposed. Females have always a [illegible] power in regulating the amount of happiness in this world. He never knew a man prosper unl[illegible] his wife or mother [illegible] women. It was [illegible]

A Work on the West Indies.—Mahlon Day & [illegible] have just [illegible] 203 pages, entitled [illegible] of Kon[illegible] West Indies [illegible] John [illegible] The writer draws [illegible] between freedom in the West Indies and slavery in the United States, as it respects the quantity of labor performed, the expense of [illegible] the value of real estate, the comforts of the negro and lastly morals and religion. From a cursory examination of the book, we judge it is written in a spirit of kindness and moderation; the object being not to make out slaveholders to be a race of fiends, but to show them a more excellant way.

National Reform Convention, of the colored Inhabitants of the United States of America.

As my name appears at the head of a call, inviting such of the colored inhabitants of the United States, as are in favour of holding a National Reform Convention this year, to meet in the city of New Haven on the first Monday in September next. I am called upon in consequence of the proceedings of a meeting purporting to have been held in said city of New Haven, two days later than the date of the communication, containing an account of said meeting, in the Colored American of August 1st 1840, to state in behalf of the majority of the signors of said call, in the city of New-York.

1st. That the proceedings referred to, are regarded as the arrogant opinion of the opponents of the proposed Convention; and is therefore *gratuitous*, if not invidious.

2ndly, That it is understood, and known that *emissaries* from this city have gone to the east, from the opponents of the National Reform Convention here, and have raised the "VOICE" in New Haven, which appears in the Colored American.

3rdly, The most violent opponents of said Convention in this city, are those who are, or, have been in the pay of the agents of the British West India Colonization scheme, and the anticipated "*Reform* Convention," is regarded by them as a portentous *denouement*.

4thly, As it is generally conceded, that a Convention should be held—delay would be treacherous on the part of those, who admit the necessity of the measure.

Therefore, our brethren who stand pledged at the East, and at the West, have only to stand true to their pledges, and true to their cause; success will attend them—our cause will succeed.

Let nothing dissuade—let nothing deter you, from rallying *en masse* in the service of Reform in the city of New Haven, in 1840.

Many of the opponents see what they call the Boston or Eastern influence, the Philadelphia or Moral Reform influence and they bolt. Brethren, read the "Maryland black law!"

Delegates who go to New Haven by the way of New-York, are requested to be in that city on the 4th of September so as to take the Saturday morning's boat.

DAVID RUGGLES.

P. S. I am authorized to state, that there "is hospitality enough among the permanent residents of the city of New Haven, to entertain as many delegates as will assemble" there "to promote the glorious objects fur which the Convention is called."

N. B. The conductors of the Colored American, have been furnished with a copy of the above communication, which they as usual have unjustly declined publishing.

New-York, August 10, 1840.

Colored Meeting.

Pursuant to public notice, a meeting of the colored citizens of New-York, convened on Monday evening, 10th of August, 1840, in the basement school room of Zion's Church, corner of Church and Leonard streets, to welcome the reappearance of the Mirror of Liberty, edited by David Ruggles.

Thomas L. Jennings was appointed Chairman, and Lewis Bodine, Secretary. The chairman introduced No. 3 of the Mirror of Liberty, extracts of which were read Mr. Ruggles' "*suppressed letter*," to the New-York "Committee of Vigilance," which was rejected from the columns of the Emancipator in consequence of the author's being unable to pay for its publication in that organ, was read.

After some further proceedings, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, public men and their measures are public property, we deem it proper to remark upon the letter freely and without reserve: Therefore,

Resolved, That we consider David Ruggles' suppressed letter an able refutation of the statements of the Committee of Vigilance, which appeared in the Emancipator of the 24th October, 1839.

Resolved, That this meeting consider that Mr. David Ruggles stands as a martyr to principle, and a victim to treachery and malice.

Resolved, That we welcome the reappearance of the Mirror of Liberty as an indispensable auxiliary to our cause.

Resolved, That the editors of the Emancipator and Zion's Watchman, are respectfully requested to do an act of justice by publishing Mr. Ruggles' "suppressed letter," in reply to the statements of the New-York Committee of Vigilance which have appeared in their papers.

Resolved, That the editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, be respectfully requested to do in 1840 what the old Executive Committee of the Society left undone in 1839, and publish Mr. Ruggles' "*suppressed letter*" to the Committee of Vigilance.

Resolved, That as the Colored American assumes to be the "organ of the free people of color of the United States," it is our prerogative respectfully to request the editor to publish Mr. David Ruggles' "*suppressed letter*" to the New-York Committee of Vigilance, which is published in No. 3 of the Mirror of Liberty, at an early date.

Resolved, That the editors of the Emancipator, National A. S. Standard, Zion's Watchman, Liberator, and Colored American, are hereby requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting in their respective papers.

Resolved, That this meeting adjourn.

T. L. JENNINGS, *Chairman*.

LEWIS BODINE, *Secretary*.

To our Agents.—The Standard.

We address ourselves to our agents this week, because we think they will be pleased to hear how well we are getting along. It encourages an individual who is engaged in a work, to know that others who are engaged with him are doing well. We stated in our first number that, with the smiles of Heaven, at the close of the year we would have 3,000 subscribers. We assure our friends and foes that we have every prospect of more than realizing this prediction. The increase to our subscription list averages from twelve to twenty new names per day.

Be it known, then, "men, brethren and sisters," that we have no fear of failure or of discomfiture. If we plead faithfully and fearlessly for the "rights of man," God will sustain us. We can, sustained or unsustained, plead for nothing less. It is to wake up from its slumbers a wicked, ungodly nation that we labor, to arouse it to a sense of the worth of *man*, that we toil night and day; to convert it from its shameless hypocrisy, that we have suffered and are still willing to suffer privation, if need be.

The Abolitionists of this land will not see the cause suffer. If the "Standard" is necessary to the progress of the reform, it will be amply sustained. They have not been faithful to the down-trodden and peeled, for ten years, to forsake him in the hottest of the battle; if they should, God is on his side, and can prove the avenger of his wrongs. We are not disposed to disregard human agency in the renovation of this world; God has instituted it, and wishes man to put it forth; but he has left man free to be a coworker with him or not, as he pleases. If man will not deny himself and take up his cross and be his disciple, he will not stop the slave's deliverance an hour. God rules over all—and they that trust in him are safe. We rejoice that, when men men turn back and prove recreant to the first principles of this enterprise, God sees them, and can turn their wisdom into foolishness. Brethren, let us *work* while the day lasts, for *our* work may soon be over.

We ask the particular attention of those who act as travelling agents for the *Standard* to the following propositions:—

1st. When money is obtained on subscription, let it be immediately forwarded, with the names of the subscribers. Never keep a subscriber's name in your pocket over night if you can get to a post office. it is doing him injustice.—Never keep the money over night if you can get to a post-office and mail it to us it is doing us injustice When you obtain money in advance, take out your commission, and thus do yourselves justice. Will you please remember these suggestions

2d. Please write the post office address, (not the name of the town merely, some towns have half a dozen postoffices,) county and state, together with the name of the subscriber. in a *plain* hand, (or we may make a mistake,) and forward every subscriber's name promptly.

3d Please go to a postmaster and tell him you wish him to send the names, or money, or both, as the case may be: stand by him till you see that he encloses the money, writes the names, seals the letter, superscribes it,—not "to the Forks of the Mississippi—" but to Isaac T Hopper, office of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 143 Nassau street, New-York, and then it will come safe and without *cost*.

4th Keep a memorandum, so that if the money does not come, you can tell us when, where, and how much you mailed.

5th. Keep a correct list (to which you can refer in your settlement with us,) of every person's name that you obtain, so that you can remail it to us if lost in its passage; also, whether it is paid or not, as we should give you credit for all that you send us as paid, and send receipts to subscribers. It is, therefore, of great importance that you should be correct and very careful.

6th. Write us once in two weeks, *without fail*. We want to know where you are, and tell us whether you went, the coming week, a "Standard," and where you can get it by mail. You need it for two reasons—first, to keep up with what we are doing; second, that you may have a clean, nice paper. Neatness in the sheet you present to a man for his inspection, is quite as sure a way of getting his name, as to be neat yourself. No agent should go from week to week with a soiled, dirty paper in his pocket. But we want a letter once in two weeks from you because we want to know what you are about. We want to sympathize with you, or rejoice with you, as the case may demand; and we cannot do it very well without we know where you are.—You need to know our progress, our hopes, fears, joys, sorrows, and we want to know yours. Brethren will you comply with our requests!

We may have as much strength as you please, but that is no reason why any of us should work at a disadvantage. System always helps us in every endeavor. The soul of all truth and of all reform, is system and its development.

W. C. ROGERS, *General Agent*.

Names.

We request as a particular favor to us, that the name of our paper be written or quoted in full to prevent mistakes. Our correspondents will please make the name of our Society clear with the number of our office. Some of our papers and letters go to the Depository of the American and Foreign Society, and theirs come to us. We regret that the new organization in this city have not taken a name that would save themselves and us some trouble in this respect.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1840.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT
WITHOUT COMPROMISE

Abolition and Politics.

If we saw a man laboring to raise a ponderous stone from the earth in which it had been imbedded for centuries, the only one within reach of which to make the corner-stone of some grand projected temple, we should bestow deep thought upon the most effectual means of removing it to the determined spot. We should be pained to see him laboring to lift it with his bare unaided hands. We should see that a temporary success in raising it by this means, would only be the preparation for a more complete and crushing destruction. We should suggest that an ounce weight at the end of a lever would effect more than a direct application of his whole strength.

And so it is with the plan of independent nominations.—Such an application of the abolition power is like the naked strength of a man applied to Stonehenge—a heedless haste—a self-defeating attempt. The effect is unfortunate alike on Abolitionists, their candidates, and the pro-slavery community.

That the enterprize could not have been commenced in this manner, is universally conceded even by those who affirm the "religious duty of [illegible] there was only one man sufficiently interested in this question as a question of national reform, to make a continuous effort, it would have been confessedly ridiculous for him to have done so Mr Birney, notwithstanding his high ideas of religious obligation on the subject of voting, even justifies the American Society in having omitted at its inception, the measure of independent nominations. His ideas of policy and of duty are at variance on the subject; for his policy forbade him to raise a standard that none were ready to support, while duty in his sense of it required one to be raised. But this question being an antecedent one, cannot claim more than incidental remark. For the same reason that it would have been bad policy in Garrison and the American Society to begin with independent nominations it will prove impolitic for the Abolitionists to proclaim them now. The "plentiful lack" of numbers is yet apparent. The movement will take a party form without our efforts, at the moment when alone, any thing can be effected by such a form To the eye of the experienced politician the present attempted movement is an abortion: one which lowers his estimate of those who favor it as tacticians, while, at the same time, it shakes the confidence of the community in them, as honest men.

At the beginning we addressed the community as men not as partizans—as human beings—not as politicians. Our appeal was to morals, and not to might; to the intellects and hearts of men—not to their instinctive love of power. We addressed them as Christians rather than as citizens: in the simplicity of the gospel, not with the exploded axioms of a Machiavelli. We asked as men having authority for their hearts. We did not sue for their "most sweet voices."—And we were right; for the greater includes the less. As we begun, the world had assurance that we labored not for ourselves; and it listened and believed, and followed after us, wherever our principles were presented, in a manner unprecedented in any reform. By attempting to connect our own civil preferment with the progress of our cause, we should deprive the world of the assurance our course has hitherto afforded. It would be to fall into the error of the disciples, who saw no way for truth to triumph, but by mounting a temporal throne, should we now resolve to change that course. The world has seen us trusting in God; in those parts of man's nature which are his image; in the qualities of justice, and mercy, and benevolence; in every thing in man which holds to the divinity: and though the world comprehended us not, it acknowledged our ascendancy. Let us, by a change of measures, proclaim a greater trust in animal power, and make it our direct effort to gain numbers, and the most casual observer will *feel*, though he may not be able to demonstrate, the great difference in our position. The captains of the political hosts will see the difference and exult. The men in our ranks who have been engaged in political warfare from their youth, while they urge fidelity to principle at the polls, yet testify, like Joab of old, against this folly of "numbering the people." In various ways, which we have not space to-day to dwell upon, it is a weakening process. If we take our true religious and moral position, our fulcrum is in another world; beyond the power of this to disturb, and thence we obtain a power to move it, as it were with a single hand. By exchanging this position for a political one, we make the aid of numbers the one consideration, while by the same movement we expose and increase our numerical weakness. The substitution of party for principle will be the signal for divisions and subdivisions of our ranks. We become justly the laughing stock of the slaveholder by appeals to a power which is not on our side and which we lose the ability to move to our side, when we quit our moral position. We now stand nobly, as individuals, in antagonism with despotism, selfishness and ambition; and we may be assured that the noble conflict with these in behalf of the rights of man, each on the spot where they meet him, will be crowned with success far beyond what might be secured by a petty strife for office, in which the constant temptation is to strike at good as well as evil, for its readier attainment. Official station will enable us to free the slave, we may argue To do right will surely do it. But to do right is by no means the way to secure official station

The true philosopher—the true statesman—the rarer personage—the man of clear common sense, will all discern that it is a descent and a loss of power to occupy an official station. A Coriolanus in the market-place, crying "I pray you let me ha't," is by no means in a *commanding* situation. When he has obtained it, he still is but a servant. James G. Birney as candidate for the Presidency of the United States, has far less power to aid our cause than James G. Birney, the untitled rebuker of statesmen and presidents. Then, he occupied a position superior to the one to which he has descended. The theory of our government makes the official the servant, whom the people displace at pleasure; and the tendency of such an arrangement ever is, to make the servant strive to win and retain the confidence of his employers. What a risk is run, then, by him who now takes the field as an abolition candidate!—a risk too heavy to be run by any who sincerely pray, "lead us not into temptation." Such a one is obliged to bear in his own person, the sins of his party. The temptations which a protracted political conflict multiplies, and which the fierce and ever strengthening passion for victory continually presents, become consolidated and pressed upon his shoulders. The party is to be enlarged at all hazards, that is the object of its existence; and the unhappy candidate is dragged hither and thither, yielding here a little and there a little, as his several constituents' fears or hopes' demand, till the heart of an Abolitionist is gone, and there remains only the crooked tool of a party. Hackneyed politicians, who began their career, their hearts filled with patriotic devotedness, and who then—

"—— vowed to keep on life's wide waste
Their hearts like lily's whiteness chaste."*

They know too well, the shoals on which Abolitionists must strike in a political course. Their experience will confirm every word we have uttered. Not one can be found whose experience will not demonstrate that the road to political preferment, is a demoralizing one; as dangerous as the road to wealth, to him who devotes himself to making money to do good with. The man who runs the political gauntlet for his seat, will find that his moral power has so oozed away in the process, that he cannot sit in it steadily.

He cannot even procure a nomination without a sacrifice of strength. Van Buren was obliged to kneel and promise the Veto. Harrison must exercise himself with the problem of abolition, after the fashion of Mr. Facing Bothways. Birney must confess, for the satisfaction of politicians, that, whereas he once looked, under God, to the moral power of the Church, he now hopes the salvation of the cause from an array of numbers as a political party. Not only was he called upon to admit that moral power was less potent than physical—i. e. the church more feeble than the world to effect righteousness: he must also renounce fraternal association with those who refused to make the same confession. He complied! This sacrifice called for another—the yielding up of his ingenuousness. He was tempted on all hands to misrepresentations and unfairness, that he might be justified in casting off the odious brethren that hindered his availability. He yielded still!

"We must be content in this world," it is argued, "to *act with* associates whose principles and conduct are *not* the purest." It is most dangerous to do so. The counsel is pregnant with destruction. It is the down-hill road. If *they* will act with *us*, well; if not, to descend to their level by independent nominations is to put ourselves into their unhallowed hands. Principle after principle will be claimed by them for sacrifice,—stronger and stronger will be our temptations, till at length as little of the spirit of Freedom will remain to our candidates, as there is of the old revolutionary spirit in Daniel Webster. We may be pointed to the fidelity of a Wilberforce, but the spirit *found* him *in* his seat—and parliaments were septennial: two circumstances which go far to destroy any supposed analogy between his case and what may be hoped of candidates among ourselves, independently of the fact that the *balance* was never flung from the hands of the British Abolitionists, by the erection of independent nominations. A two-fold error is committed by the advocates of this measure among us. They assume this channel they would dig, to be the only one through which political influence can flow; and seem not to discern that the rubbish from the trench must actually choke up the channel of moral power.

The day on which this policy becomes the prevailing one among Abolitionists, will see them exchanging the substance for the shadow: will mark their preference of the hireling declamations of the demagogue over the [illegible] Evangelist.

"But we must unfurl a visible standard;" cry some. "We must show the nation something worth contending about, by forming a distinct third party." Why what, in the name of common sense, have we been doing for the last ten years! "Possession is nine points in Congress as often as in the Judiciary; and we have held up "something worth contending for," to those who are already in their seats, and who consequently have less temptation to refuse to contend about it, than an Abolitionist will have to undergo, in the course of the numerous heats he must run for his seat. We *have* held up "something worth contending about" and the people are already contending about it effectually,† without our putting ourselves to the trouble and expense of a second set of Anti-Slavery associations, and consider us to be "a political organization already." We have the parties to undertake the toil and expense of nomination without our sullying our hands, or stooping our necks. They will do it for us, just in proportion to our sincere and energetic lives in behalf of the slave. "A visible standard—something to rally round!" He that cannot already see the principles we have preached as a pillar of fire going before, is to be greatly aided truly, by hearing a man's name shouted! It is a great blindness and weakness—this practical contempt for the "unseen and eternal." It is well to warn those afflicted with it, that what is gained by such a "visible standard," is lost by its being also a *moveable* standard. It is the blunder of a half-thinker, to put Gerrit Smith and Alvan Stewart in nomination to-day, in order to secure the co-operation of those who "need a visible standard," to-morrow. We do but load them with a weight, which impedes their advance, when we link them with such partizans. When they place themselves at the disposal of a constituency less pure than they, it is but proclaiming that *something has been given up. They have gone back to meet the people when their nomination by a third party is made.*

The more thought is expended upon this subject, the more inexpedient does a third political party appear. It is a pentecost we need, not a political party: and when our host, instinct with the spirit of freedom, shall each move onward over every obstacle with swift unhesitating energy, the world of politicians will be drawn into the wake of our rapid course. It is not for them to remain behind when the vanguard of humanity moves forward. They *must* follow, by the instinct of human nature. Let us press vigorously forward then,

"With faithful undefatigable arm
To roll the heaving war-load up the hill!"

It misbecomes us to put our own hands to the drudgery of electioneering, of which the results are uncertain, while there remains a course by which our object may certainly be obtained. That course is the one we have already pursued.

There can be no question as to the course the voting Abolitionist will pursue, who sees the ill-effects of submitting the purest and holiest of causes to the arbitration of the lower propensities of men, while he has the power of appeal to the highest. He will eschew, alike, Harrison, Van Buren and Birney. The two first, because experience has proved that law of morals to be immutable which forbids *ever* to do evil. The last, because he will feel it his duty to testify against a measure so fraught with peril to the cause as a third political party.

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* Note. Early poems, by George Bancroft!

† Witness the success of the cause politically in Massachusetts.

The Political Party Convention at Syracuse.

This Convention was holden, August 5th, for the purpose of organizing the third party for the State of New-York, and "marshalling in arms," for the coming election The call was for the nomination of electors for President and Vice President, and to make out a Gubernatorial ticket for New-York.

The candidates are,—

FOR GOVERNOR.

Gerrit Smith.

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,

Charles O. Shepard.

One hundred and fifty-three delegates enrolled their names. A very respectable body of men, though not so large as we had expected, and certainly nothing extraordinary, considering the immense amount of effort that has been put forth for the last six months in the political channel. Still we care but little for numbers. The battle is not always to the strong, or the race to the swift. 'Tis not numbers but truth that gives triumph to effort. "*One* may chase a thousand." Whether the measures which they have adopted will prove the most efficient, "*time will tell*." We can only say that after sitting a day and a half, as a spectator in that Convention, and looking with an eye disposed to be a little "blind to their faults, and kind to their virtues," we left with the redoubled conviction, that the movement is a bad one: that it lacks one great essential element to success, viz. *love of principle*; and that it relies for its power upon *combined influence*, rather than upon the thorough conviction of the truth and omnipotence of the principle they had embraced. C. O. Shepard was chosen President of the Convention, and, to our mind, performed his duties admirably. Without disparagement to other gentlemen who have presided over Anti-Slavery Conventions, when we have been present, we do think C. O. Shepard exceeded them all. His promptness, his ease, the dignity and propriety of his course, was highly creditable to himself and to those who selected him.

Our readers, and the Abolitionists generally, will recollect C. O. Shepard, as the man who created such an excitement in the Legislature of this State two or three years since, by the presentation of an Anti-Slavery petition from the students of Hamilton College, headed by a young man by the name of CALKINS.

The college wanted $5,000; and if humanity was known to have taken her lodgment within its walls, "by and with the consent of the faculty," the money would not be forthcoming. So, to make sure of it, Doctor Penney posted to Albany, and crouched before his lawmakers, as a whipped spaniel would at the feet of its owner, and when the Legislature had glutted itself with a sight of the President's parasitism, they locked the vault in his face and sent him back to his college.

On this occasion Mr. Shepard, though a Whig, was a good Abolitionist, and held to his principles manfully. The spirit of the Convention, with one or two exceptions, was good; and, save three or four individuals, the members of the Convention treated us with kindness, and seemed pleased with our attendance. One man thought we had no business there, because he "took it into his head" that we were a "non-resistant," and he was so holy that he could not tolerate as a spectator to his devotions, a man who he thought doubted the "divinity of a human arrangement." Another, who had always been brought up to submit his conscience to the keeping of the Church, instead of being its own keeper, and who could sing, on a fit occasion, with a great deal of sanctimoniousness,

"Let brotherly love your hearts unite,
For the Church demands it wrong or right,"

thought it an unfit place for us, for he had heard that we were an INFIDEL. And a third had learned that we went for "woman's rights" He liked to have them there, but he wanted them to hear. It delighted him to see them present, (there were probably 150 women present,) but he wanted us to remember *that they came to hear*, (!) and he hoped that we would not say after this, that they were not in *favor of the women*, though he said a woman had no right to speak among men. Her business was to look on and learn what she could, and find out the rest at *home*.

Gerrit Smith opened the meeting with prayer. It came out in the earlier part of the meeting, whether intentionally or not we do not pretend to say, that "somebody had been making application to a savage,"* to know if he would not accept the nomination for Governor, *provided* they would choose him. This fact was mentioned in a letter from Joshua Leavitt, and the application had been made from this city. What a development is here! Abolitionists in the city of New-York, who have sat under the teachings of the Executive Committee for years, who have had no "extraneous topics" to distract their minds, who have been indoctrinated into the "divinity of human government," and the "pertinency and significan[illegible] that it was evil to trifle with the right and power of suffrage, who have heard it said so often that it has grown stale, that "no man could belong to the Whig party and be an Abolitionist:" for them to ply a hoary-headed pro-slavery Judge with the offer of a nomination for Governor for the the State of New-York, if he would only come out and *say* he was an Abolitionist. Shame! shame!! Is this the purity of New-York City Abolitionism! Lay this fact by the side of Lewis Tappan's letter to the National Intelligencer, and the refusal to incorporate *a pledge to vote*. into the constitution of the new organization, and you have a clew to guide you to the depths of as much of rottenness, so far as political action is concerned, as can be found within the bounds of any Anti-Slavery Society in this country.

We ask but this one fact to convince us that the party embodies, while as yet in its crysalis state, the elements of corruption. It is as good as a hundred. It tells us "trumpet tongued," that men of the party are willing to barter principle for influence, to exchange purity for power, to accept of a man's aid, though he had never shed a tear over God's poor, or given a shilling for their elevation, provided he would throw it into the scale, and accept a nomination for an office. It makes no difference that he might have answered—'Yes!' what of it? Are words proof of a man's love for man? if so, the party can have plenty. Men will dupe men with affirmations of interest and love for the cause as long as men are willing to be duped. To accept of an answer when the questioning system was in vogue, and after the nomination was filled was bad enough, but to "run all over creation" to hunt up candidates from the parties, and tempt them to an "embrace of humanity" by the hope of an office, speaks but poorly for those who did it. We wonder why somebody did not write to Samuel Beardsley. He mobbed us in 1835, and by his "deeds of daring" on that day, wrote his doom as respected his nomination to the Chief Magistracy of the Empire State, by the Van Buren party. An application to him might have been more successful. He might not have refused like Judge Savage. We ask every "uncollared" Abolitionist, every one who is not willing to giveup his independence, for the prosperity of his party, to look at this development. We prophecy, though we lay no claim to skill in the science, that this is but an introduction to a series of just such movements. The object of the party is to abolish slavery. This cannot be done by their own showing, till they can get into power. To *obtain power* with them is of vast importance. The consequence will be, that the end will be lost sight of in an effort to obtain the means, without which they can do nothing. Who cannot see that there will not be an over-acuteness of sensibility about the efforts put forth to obtain power. If tickling a man's vanity will secure him, why tickle him—you get your pay in the obtainment of his influence, if gratifying his passion for dominion will enable you to get him, and thus add to your quantum of efficiency—tempt him with the hope of office; if pandering his prejudices, or yielding to his sectarianism will add to the probability of success—do so, by all means. If he is very stubborn and rebellious, lay under him as a moving power,—*plenty of "bread and butter*," and you will be successful. "The selfishness of the human heart must be had as the basis of success of any reform—you must operate through it if you succeed,' said Alvan Stewart at the Convention It was clearly evident to us, that corruption was concealed among them, and would yet show her spots like some contagious disease. We by no means wish to be understood that the majority of the Convention were corrupt, far from it; but there were evidences quite satisfactory to our minds, that there were those in that Convention holding a prominent place in its deliberations, whose standard of reform for Abolitionists was miserably low.

Men who for a long life have been politicians, and accustomed to engage in the intrigue and chicanery and debasement of party politics. however good their intentions, will find it very hard to forbear the use of those means through which they have been accustomed to succeed. Of one thing we can say, we feel glad i. e. that the Convention nominated GERRITT SMITH. Our brother Smith has repeatedly told us, that he could hold no office under the United States Government, which would require him to swear to support the Constitution and laws of the United States, and we have not the honor of being the only individual whom he has told the same thing. He told the Convention that he did not wish to be nominated, as he had "conscientious scruples." But the Convention told him that it could give no heed to conscientious scruples. He was there. The Convention had decided that the terms of admission to a seat were, that a man should be favorable to independent nominations. Mr. Smith had enrolled his name, was Chairman of the Committee to report an address—a document emanating from his own pen, we were informed by one of the committee—a document taking the ground that "no man could belong to a national, political, or ecclesiastical party and be a good Abolitionist:" and yet, after all this, Mr. Smith had conscientious scruples about filling the office of Governor of this State. It became necessary to instruct him in his duties, and so Alvan Stewart told him that he thought brother Smith ought to accept; no matter if the position was adverse to the one he then occupied. He thought the interest of the State demanded it of him.

Beriah Green thought Mr. Smith's scruples were not worth the consideration he wished attached to them In a matter so "significant and sacred as the Ballot Box," he thought they ought not to yield, but to hold a man there if needs be, by crucifixion, and put him upon the responsibility of declining if HE DARED. Myron Holley thought brother Smith should consider that whatever was wrong in the government, could be rectified, because of its amending power, and if he accepted office under it, and with a view to use that power to rectify what in it was wrong, he was relieved from responsibility.

E. C. Pritchett *thought* that it was not the holding a wrong power that was wrong, but the exercise of the power. A very good argument for the Slaveholders and quite logical (!) Augustus Sawyer said that was no place for "conscientious scruples." Brother Smith, was in their boat, he must row or drown—So among them all, they presented the sublime spectacle of laboring in a political convention to remove the "scruples against holding office" of one of the first men in their body, and who they were determined to have as the candidate, "scruples or no scruples."

After the nomination, Mr. Smith arose and said they must take the responsibility of the nomination. This seemed to be so worded that it might go for acceptance or refusal.—We accordingly asked William Goodell if we were to consider Mr. Smith as accepting the nomination. He said "certainly!" We doubted, even then, whether Mr. Smith meant to accept the nomination, not seeing how arguments which had been used a hundred times before to Mr S. without effect, should produce such instantaneous conversion, and not well knowing how to make it out as consistent for Mr. S. to accept the nomination with his scruples still alive, we went to Sireno French and Augustus Sawyer, and told those gentlemen that we did not believe Mr. Smith would accept.—Mr. French accordingly communicated with Mr. Smith, and Henry Bradley replied that Mr. Smith would accept. We mention these things that the Abolitionists may know how and what they did, and that in order to get their candidate to accept, they had to instruct him by a "bible argument" in his obligations to accept the nomination of Governor of the State of New-York.

We do not mention this to heap odium upon any of the parties. They acted in good faith as respected Mr. S., and we are glad he is nominated. It settles the fact of his willingness to hold office, and will ease the minds of many of his friends.

Mr. Smith's enemies have for years charged him with aspiration for office. He and his friends have warded off the charge by saying that he had conscientious scruples.—These are now removed, and what proof he can now furnish we know not, except to those who by personal acquaintance are aware of the purity and uprightness of his character.

The nomination was much regretted by some of the delegates—chiefly on the ground that it would give force and power, to the charge that Mr. S. had been laboring in this cause for his own aggrandizement. One delegate from Peterboro'—Mr. Smith's residence thought it the worst thing the Convention could have done. A delegate from Genesee, *whose name we do not know*, told us Mr. S. would get fewer votes than any man they could have put up. A delegate from [illegible] would rather have had "the humblest" man in the town nominated.

So it would seem that there was some chance of Mr. Smith not being as popular after all, as some other man. We hope the readers of the Standard will keep a good look out. Party politics are not yet yet proven to be of "divine origin," and the developments at Syracuse, promise any other result to our minds, than one of benefit to the slave by the organization of a third political party.

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* Alvan Stewart.

From the Herald of Freedom.

Mr. Editor,—It has often of late been urged against a portion of the Abolitionist, that they too much mingle foreign subjects with the great question of Anti-Slavery. We would like well to know, from some of these self-constituted expounders of our creed, who are so anxious to set bounds to our faith and practice, how few, or many, of these "foreign subjects" may be agitated without violating their sense of right and propriety.

When William Lloyd Garrison, first flung out his little banner on the slavery tainted atmosphere of New-England, he inscribed upon its folds the spirit-stirring motto it has worn throughout the conflict—"OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND." In the onset he boldly declared the *universality* of the doctrines which he advocates; and pledged himself to war against oppression, unbounded by climates, and undefined by color. The old stout hearted pioneers in the cause *were with him*, and as Abolitionists of the *old stamp*, we claim the right; not only to war against slavery *itself*, but to do battle against every institution which openly defends, apologizes for, or yields to its implied sanction by its silence.

But we took our pen to notice a charge lately preferred against us—namely that we design to "unchurch the churches." The absurdity of that charge with the author's evidently intended *construction* is equalled by nothing but its utter groundlessness. Who has deprived the "church" of her weapons? Or how has she been attacked so as to deprive her of her hands be clean of a defence it would be madness to combat! But if the "church" has departed from the spirit and power of Christianity—if she has broken down the altars of true devotion, and on their ruins erected a shrine whose oracles are dumb, when great and crying sins are among her worshippers—If she has become a sanctuary for slavery itself—If men may partake in her communion whose hands are unwashed of the blood of souls without rebuke—is it not time the voice of warning, aye, and of condemnation too should be heard? Let no man hold up the church in America as a veil through which to stab Abolitionists till she is rid of her abominations. Tell us not about "unchurching the churches," you may do it—but you cannot *unchristianize christianity*—and the man who brings the covert charge against us knows it, as well as we. If the present church has her foundation in the precepts and practice of true faith, no human sophistry, or ingenuity, can prevail against her. She stands on an eternal and immutable foundation. Why then if she does not already totter from the weight of her own sin is the signal sounded and the church declared to be in danger—the clergy marshalled against us, and pouring out wholesale denunciation upon us, instead of triumphantly vindicating its character by appealing to facts, and arguments! The charge is an appeal to prejudice—a sweeping condemnation for the purpose of shocking preconceived opinions.

When the people were aroused by the spirit of abolition and in the exercise of their own prerogative first felt the iron, and heard the rattle of their shackles—when their servants in Congress have declared the right to forfeit that which Turkey's Sultan or Russia's Autocrat dared not deny to the meanest subject—Who then declared we had gone out of our way to engage in the discussion of extraneous topics? Who charged upon us interference with 'foreign subjects" No man when his political liberties were at stake deemed it amiss to mingle his own cause and the slave's.—Now when the church is exercising *spiritual* tyranny over her members—when she has become recreant to her holy trust to the putting back of abolition, when men have been called in from the highways and byways to do what she would not—when her ministers are dumb before the altar on a question which involves the moral regeneration of a universe—shall we be taunted with a design to overthrow Christianity, because we cry out against her abominations.

Look well to it that the spirit which apologizes for a pro-slavery church be not found near akin to the spirit of slavery itself. See that they who are disposed to fasten obloquy on those who are striving with the greatest obstacle to the triumph of liberty do not in the end desert the holy cause of universal freedom for the sake of a shelter under the banners of the "church."

W. H. G.

Weare, July 27th.

Office of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

All orders for publications, and all letters in relation to the business department of the Standard, should be addressed to ISAAC T. HOPPER, 143 Nassau-street. All communications for publication in the Standard should be superscribed to the "Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard," 143 Nassau-street, N. Y.

British India.

The Law and Custom of Slavery in British India, in a series of Letters to Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. By William Adam. 1 *vol. pp.* 279.

It has long been known that slavery existed in British India, but the subject has been kept studiously in the dark by most of those who were best qualified to give information upon the matter, and the real state of the case has been very imperfectly known.

A long residence in India and a zealous study of all its interests, institutions and affairs has enabled Professor Adam to give, in a condensed form, a far more complete view of this subject than has ever yet appeared, and must put an end, hereafter, to all those self-congratulations, not uncommon in English publications, that whatever other abuses may exist under the English government, slavery, the greatest and worst of social abuses, has been finally abolished.

It appears from Mr. Adam's book, that the institution of slavery, which existed under the old Hindoo laws, and which was abolished, so far as its legal existence was concerned, by the Mohammedan conquerors has been re-established in legal form by the decisions of the supreme courts of Justice established by the English conquerors, who at the same time give force and validity to those Mohammedan laws by which a part of the Mohammedan population is likewise held in bondage.

The work is comprised in eight letters, which contain a sketch of the Hindu law of slavery, of the Mohammedan law of slavery, and of the British law of slavery, founded upon the provisions of the Hindu and Mahommedan codes; an examination of the legality of those divisions of the Supreme Court of Justice, by which East Indian slavery is sustained; an account of the administration of the Hindu and Mohammedan slave law by the British government in India, and of some ameliorations in that law which the English government has introduced; an inquiry into the origin and sources of slavery in India, and into the number of slaves; an account of the occupation and treatment of agricultural and domestic slaves; and of the unsuccessful attempts hitherto made to procure the abolition of slavery in British India.

Upon all these subjects there is a great variety of new, curious, and valuable information, collected with great diligence from sources which would hardly be accessible to any one one who had not been long a resident in India.

The reader of this book may make many curious comparisons between slavery as it exists in this country and slavery as it exists in India. It is perfectly evident that it might there be abolished with the greatest facility, and that nothing is needed but a disposition on the part of those to whom the India administration is entrusted. This would no doubt be admitted by all who read the book, whatever may be their opinions as to the practicability of abolishing slavery in the United States. Yet the very same objections which are urged and repeated here against meddling with the subject of slavery, are relied upon there, and are brought forward with the same gravity against doing any thing for the relief of the oppressed, a circumstance which may serve to show that in both countries, it is rather the will than the power, that is wanting.

The whole subject of slavery, has of late acquired a great interest. It is highly desirable that wherever this evil exists it should be brought to light and exposed to view such as it actually is. Especially has Professor Adam rendered a good service to the cause of humanity, by giving this full and complete account of slavery in British India, since it is hardly to be believed with all the zeal felt in England for the total suppression of this species of wrong, the East India company or the ministers will be allowed to remain quiet until they have taken some decisive steps towards relieving India from at least this form of oppression.

All who feel any interest in the subject of slavery in India, will find in this work all the information they can desire. Its author, we understand, is now in England, and is to be hoped that the British India Society, or the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or both together, will take some means of giving this book an extensive circulation among the English opposers of slavery.—*Liberator.*

Steamboat Statistics.

We learn from the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, that Mr. Ruggles of the U. S. Senate, during the last session, from the Committee on Commerce, submitted a report, accompanied with a bill to amend the law passed in 1838, relating to steamboats in the United States. The bill was left among the unfinished business, but the Journal of Commerce makes some extracts from the report going to show that the law of 1838 falls far short of effectually shielding the public from those disasters which prompted its adoption. It appears that in the course of the past year about 200 lives have been lost by steamboat disasters. There were 41 accidents to steamboats in 1839, on the Western waters alone, including 23 vessels totally lost—with a loss of property estimated at not less than a million of dollars—and 46 lives lost by explosions and other accidents to the steamboats. Then there is the loss of the Great Western by fire, in Detroit River, a new boat, built at a cost of $100,000; the accident on board the Narraganset, on Long Island Sound, in August last, by which several persons were [illegible] on the Hudson River; which, with a few other accidents of less moment, including many fires that were extinguished, but not particularly ascertained, make up the sum of last year's steamboat misfortunes, and furnish ample reason for some more effective legislation.

We learn from the same source, that the whole number of serious accidents which has occurred in the United States, since the introduction of steam navigation, is stated at 272; of which the following is a summary:

No. of vessels.		No. of lives lost.
103	explosions and collapses of boilers	886
73	striking on snags and sawyers	118
83	shipwrecks, gales, and collisions	478
34	fires from various causes	444
27	unascertained causes.	
272		1,921

The returns show about 450 wounded.

The aggregate loss of property by these disasters, is estimated at about $6,000,000. The amount of steamboat tonnage in the United States, according to the returns of 30th Sept., 1839, was 199,569; as follows:

	Tons—95ths.
Employed on the Eastern waters	54,473 59
Employed on the Lakes	18,341 27
Employed on the Western waters, (rivers)	108,923 58
Employed South of the Potomac Rivers	17,831 15
	199,569 59

The steamboat tonnage returned on the 30th Sept. 1838, was 190,632 43; showing an increase of about 9,000 tons. *Boston Journal.*

Caution.—Altered Bills.—The one dollar bills of the Commercial Bank, Providence, from the new plate, vignette representing a Steersman, have been altered to ten dollars. The Bank has issued no bills of that denomination from the new plate: the only bills they have issued from the new plate, are 1's and 3's, and they are all dated July 15, 1840. The altered bills may be detected, also, by noticing that the words "one dollar" in small letters in the margin of the bill are blotted out.

July 27, 1840. D. ANDREWS, Cashier.

Childhood.—Remember to begin early. One drop of warm rain may cause the tender shoot to swell and flourish, while a whole shower does but little good to the tree.

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Abolitionists the only consistent Whigs and true Democrats.

A Speech delivered by Mr. C. C. Burleigh, at the annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, on Wednesday, June 12th, 1839.

[Taken in short hand by R. Sutton, Parliamentary and Law Reporter, from England.]

In the report of the interesting proceedings of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, which appeared in the Liberator some time ago, we stated that we had omitted a report of speeches delivered by Mr. C. C. Burleigh, on the elementary principles of abolitionism; we now, therefore, supply, in part, the deficiency.

On Wednesday evening no business was introduced, but by previous arrangement,

Mr. C. C. Burleigh proposed a series of resolutions, which we have already published, as the text for simple elementary discussion. He said the resolutions would be considered together, because the subject on which they treated ran through the whole. The resolutions said, that the leaders and organs of the respective political parties, in charging each other with the sin of abolitionism, are laboring to fix disgrace upon themselves; and in representing the anti-slavery enterprise as a partizan movement, designed to advance the interests of either political party, are guilty of bearing false witness against their neighbors. The friends of immediate abolition, he contended, were the only consistent advocates of genuine democracy, because none but they practically acknowledge and recognize the doctrine of equality of human rights;—and the only true whigs according to the creed of '76, because none but they contend for the self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and inasmuch as our republican institutions were based on the principle that government is established for the good, and derives all its just powers from the consent of the governed, the man, southern or northern, whether a son of New-York or of Kentucky, who supports or apologizes for that government in one part of our country which has in view the sole benefit of the rulers, and neither exists by the consent, nor is established or administered for the good of the governed, either does not understand, or is hostile to the spirit and principles of republicanism; and is in either case unfit to frame or administer the laws of a state or nation. Now he contended that the anti-slavery movement was *the* movement which was to finish the work of their revolutionary fathers, so far as it related to conferring liberty on human beings, though not, as they began it, on the military battle-field, with the thunder of cannon and the array of military power, but by peaceable means to finish the work of establishing the principle of human equality in regard to rights, by practically establishing the proposition, that all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This was the object of the anti-slavery movement. Those, therefore,—who charged abolitionists with the design to promote partizan purposes—those who accused them of the wish to promote the peculiar objects of this or that political party—to advance the cause of self-styled but spurious Democracy or Whigism, those who said they desired to promote the election of Clay or Van Buren, or the candidate of any other set of political partizans, brought against abolitionists a false accusation. That was not their object. What were the questions of party strife, compared with the work which they had laid out for themselves? What was the question, who should sit the next four years in the Presidential chair, compared with the question, whether the demon of slavery should continue to shake his iron rod over the heads of freemen?—What was the question to them who was elected to Congress for or against any particular system of finance, compared with the question which they introduced, whether the laborer was worthy of his hire, or whether a few should absorb all the produce of the hard working man's toil? Talk about taxation, about bank-stock, about traffic, and competition! Talk of questions like these! Talk about whether they should have a Sub-Treasury system, or a National Bank, or forty State Banks, spread over the land to be the chosen depositories of the national treasury, compared with the question, whether they who produced the national treasure should have a share in its enjoyment? Why, they would consider themselves as descending from their exalted enterprize, if they meddled with questions like these. Political action! They aimed at higher, at nobler objects, than the election of men to office,—with reference to mere competition for *a portion* of the fruits of labor—they went to the question of the elevation of man, and of human rights, and to the truth or falsehood of the principle on which their own independence was based. It was not a question whether a small tithe or proportion of their earnings should go from them in duties or taxation, but whether man was entitled to the whole earnings of his hand, and to the undisputed exercise of the mind which guided the operations of his hand. That was the scope of the anti-slavery enterprize. They who charged upon abolitionists a partizan interest, were charging them falsely, and, in the words of the resolution, were bearing false witness against their neighbors.—The resolution went further, and said, that the leaders and organs of the respective political parties, in charging each other with the sin of abolitionism, are laboring to fix disgrace on themselves. What was the position of these parties? Why, here stood before them the democrat, as he called himself, proclaiming that all were entitled to equal rights—protesting, with the utmost energy, that all ought to be governed by equal laws—demanding, with the full force of his eloquence, as it was poured out through the press, or in the stump oratory at an election, that to every one ought to be allowed an equal chance to avail himself of all the means Providence has put into his power, to use all the faculties with which his Maker has endowed him to secure his happiness. 'The greatest good of the greatest number,' was the democratic doctrine: it was one of the mottos which, on all occasions, was emblazoned on his banners. But the democratic champion, or leader, or party organ, that charged abolitionism upon his political opponent as a reproach or a crime, was false to the principles which he professed; for the abolitionist was seeking to secure for all equal laws, which the democrat asserted to be right and proper—he was seeking to extend to all men that equal chance which the democrat said all men ought to have, and to carry out the doctrine of the democratic banners, 'The greatest good of the greatest number.' He was no true democrat, who went to a slave State, and taunting the colored race as incompetent for freedom, and regarding them as chattels personal, would exclude them,—the 'greatest number' though they are in some of the states,—from a just participation in the greatest good; who went there as the professed advocate of the institutions of a country which pretended to aim at securing the greatest good of the greatest number, and yet would confine to the minority, who trampled down the rights and energies and highest interests of the enslaved majority, *all* the good which those institutions were designed to confer. He only was the consistent professor of democracy, who advocated in sincerity the true democratic doctrine, 'the greatest good of the greatest number; and by seeking the overthrow of slavery, a system fatal to the real welfare of every class, was striving for the 'greatest good, of the whole people, of every grade and condition.

No proposition could be plainer than this; to argue it, was a waste of words, and an insult to an intelligent audience. And so of the whig,—too, as well as of the democrat. The whig who should turn round and charge upon his opponent as a crime, that he was in favor of giving liberty to every body—who should taunt his democratic neighbor with inconsistency, if he believed what he asserted, and practiced what he believed, was not a true representative of the revolutionary fathers of their republican institutions; he was not a true descendant of the worthies of '76, though he might take upon his lips the name of Washington or of Adams, and chant the praises of the patriots who waded through blood, and marched through fire, to establish the proposition, that all were entitled to freedom. And he asked, if such a whig was not fastening disgrace upon himself, and branding himself with infamy? That was the correct assertion of their resolution. But further, the resolution asserted, that the friend of immediate emancipation was the only consistent democrat that he was the only man who really and truly held in practice, as well as theory, that all men were entitled to equal rights—he was the only man who sincerely believed that God created of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth—and that God required us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and that we should do unto others as we would have others do unto us. Why, it was not very long since he read an extract from a newspaper of the city of Washington—a democratic newspaper—in which democracy was asserted to be Christianity applied to politics, and the parallel was run between the democratic doctrine of human rights and the duty of loving our brother as ourselves. And it was well done; it was a just parallel; truth glowed in every line; but it was only surprising that it did not glow with brightness enough to show that editor how inconsistent he was with himself,—while advocating such a doctrine, and opposing the emancipation of the slave. Now that this democratic and christian doctrine should be carried out to the slave, was precisely what abolitionists were asking. They asked the slaveholder to carry this doctrine into practice, and to acknowledge the rights of the men that were pouring out their best energies to fill his coffers: they asserted that the slave had the right to be free, because he was equal—that he had the right to be paid for his toil, because he was a man, equally entitled to the rights of a man; the right to control his own limbs, to direct his own movements. That was abolition doctrine, and that was good democracy, then was the proposition true, that abolitionists were the only consistent democrats. Nothing short of this immediate emancipation came up to the standard of democracy. They might tell him that the slave must be a slave perpetually, but was that consistent with human rights? No; and McDuffie might reiterate till he split his throat, that slavery was the corner-stone of their institutions, and he would never make them believe it. But there came the gradualists, or the friends to the expatriation of the slave; those who were for getting rid of slavery without annihilating the sin, and those who were proposing something 'half way between now and never.'—(Laughter)—While the immediatist said, do it now, and the friend of perpetual slavery exclaimed, 'never,' the gradualist would have it done at a period just in the middle between the two. He could look at the colored man toiling without remuneration, and could admit that he had a right to be paid a fair compensation, but he said, let him toil another year, or perhaps for ten years longer they would doom to severe and wasting labor the men who, they must remember, on those sugar plantations often sacrificed their vigor and laid their bones under the sod in seven years. But let them go and become the companions of those men, for those ten years of toil,—for if they were equal in rights they should be equal in the enjoyment of the rights, and then say, we are for gradual emancipation and throwing off the heavy burdens. Let them tell him that the slave was just as good as themselves, and equally entitled to all the privileges of freemen, and yet say they think he should toil some twenty years longer, and in that time see the wife of his bosom wrested away, then the child of his pride, and the daughter approaching the dawn of womanhood, beginning to display those charms which exalt her price in the market of the South—then the infant just able to lisp and prattle the endearing name of parent, transferred to the distant purchaser, to wear out a life in servitude. Oh for twenty years longer he must submit, while he was their equal in rights! Let them put themselves by his side, then—let them take the lot to which he was condemned, and say whether for twenty years they would consent to have their heart-strings severed, one by one, by the iron hand of avarice, whose very touch was productive of thrilling agony. They were gradualists! and wanted that iron hand to be *gradually* withdrawn! They believed their brother was their equal in rights, but it was *expedient* that for thirty years longer he should live under the operation of that law which said the master should smite when and as he would, and which afforded no protection to the person of the slave—which countenanced the master in the use of thumb screws, and damp and noxious dungeons, and in the infliction of every species of punishment he might deem proper. All this was to be endured for a season, because they were for *gradual* abolition!

Let them take their place by the slave's side, abide with the slave and sustain with him his wrongs, and cast off all power to summon those that could testify in their behalf—cast off every thing which amounts to legal protection, or to the protection of their fellow-men, and lay themselves down by the side of the slave under the crushing wheel of that iron despotism which is rolling over him, and then preach their democracy and gradualism together. (Applause.) They would not then say that the brother who had equal rights should have a gradual, but they would demand a present elevation—not an elevation forty years to come, but an elevation now; and not only of the body, but that the enslaved mind should gather up its faculties from the withering grasp which paralyzed them. Yes, put themselves by the side of the slave—shut up and throw away the book which enlightened the gloom of Egyptian darkness—consent to be subject to this state of abject ignorance, and to live where the law prohibits the exercising or acquiting even the first rudiments of science—take their children, which were beginning to totter to school, and there beside the master to learn the letters of the alphabet—take them away and shut them down in the darkest corner of slavery till their minds were starved and withered for want of nourishment—then preach their gradualism! (Applause.) He asked them if it was right that the man who was equal with themselves, and was entitled to equal rights, should remain one, five, ten, twenty, or fifty years deprived of them? Now abolitionism commended itself to the sober and candid judgment of their fellow citizens, as true consistent democracy, because it took the ground that every man had the right to be free—because it took the ground, that to deprive men of their liberty or the right to the enjoyment of it, was to be guilty of a crime and a grievous wrong; and in the next place, because they asserted that every man guilty of such a crime was guilty of a violation of the moral law,—especially that so atrocious a crime was a glaring violation of the moral law—as it was a taking away the most precious of all rights—the very right to have rights—and involved an effacing of the image which God stamped on man in his creation, and hurling him from that platform on which his Creator designed he should stand, down to the pit of chattelism. They asserted that he who was guilty of so atrocious an immorality, was bound immediately to cease, to repent, and to do works meet for repentance. They contended, also that slavery was contrary to the principles of this government, and to the foundation principles of their republican institutions; and because they not only contended, but showed it, and after they had shown it, they went for their republican institutions and the rights of man—the foundation doctrines of the government—and against slavery, which assailed man's rights, they conceived they were the true democrats.

They asserted, too, that they were the true Whigs according to the doctrine of '76. What was that doctrine? That all men were created equal, and were endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these rights were life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Now look over the broad extent of this country, and what would they find? Why, in more than half the territory, three millions of their fellow-men deprived of those rights which their Creator had granted them—they found that the doctrine of the Whigs, that all men were entitled to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, was considered, in the practice if not in the theory of half the nation, as a mere splendid abstraction, and a flourish of rhetoric—they found in every single particular enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, that the practice of the people of this land was in diametrical opposition to their professions. They had all a right to life? Yes; and they bound themselves by a solemn contract and pledge—they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor,—to maintain and uphold the proposition that all men were equal, and, that they had an inalienable right to life.—Well, how had they maintained it? By consenting that three millions of their fellow-beings should be under a system which put a man's life at the mercy of a master and an overseer; for what legal protection did the system afford to the victim of slavery? Take up the statute book and read its provisions for the punishment of the murder of a slave, and forget, if they could that no black man could be a witness against a white man, and that it was impossible to enforce the law against its violators, because it permitted the master, or the overseer, or any white man, to come into a court of justice, and by his own oath to clear himself from the charge. Let them forget all this, and consider not that the jury before whom the case might be tried was drawn from that class, and had sympathy with that class, to which the criminal belonged. Lay that all out of the question, and look only at the exception, at the proviso, which, after declaring the killing of a slave was punishable with death, *provided* that this should not be considered as extending to a slave outlawed by virtue of the law of this Commonwealth, (South Carolina.) And for what was the slave outlawed? Why, when he took that liberty which was his inalienable right, and preferring the swamps and forests to the *comforts* of the 'negro-quarter,' concealed himself and his *stolen* family in their wild lurking place, till hunger made him desperate—when he heard the cries of his children for bread, and saw his wife famishing without being able to assist her; if he should go out and kill, for his family's subsistence, his master's pig, or sheep, or cow, the law came down with a declaration of outlawry, and any man then might take the slave's life, and no penalty was affixed—any one might shoot him, or hunt him down with blood-hounds, and the law said, Amen. That was the protection of his life. But that was not all—it was only a part of the proviso. 'Provided it should not extend to the case of a slave outlawed, or in the act of resisting his master.' No matter what outrage he resisted; no matter what might be the provocation, no matter how harmless to the master that resistance might be, for the courts had decided that an offering to resist was a resistance within the intent of the law,—killing in the act of resisting his master! If the slave struggled as a husband or a father to protect his wife or daughter from violation,—if he sought to protect them from the accomplishment of the master's designs, however abominable, it was resistance, or an offering to resist, and the killing of a slave under such circumstances, the law said, was not punishable as a murder. Again, this law not only legalized the killing a slave outlawed, the killing a slave under the act of resistance or offering to resist his master, but the proviso extended to 'the slave dying under moderate correction!' That was the very phraseology of the statute, and he wanted his audience to take those terms with them as a leaf out of the Southern Dictionary, and the next time they heard the slaveholders or the apologists for slavery telling them that the slave was punished only when he deserved it, and that he then had only 'moderate' punishment, he wished them to point out those words as the signification of 'moderate correction,'—which was *merely* punishing a man to death. 'Dying under moderate correction!' Here was the protection of the slave's life! But he should be told, perhaps, that all the severe statutes of which this is a specimen, were necessary to uphold the system, and that, therefore, he ought not to be so severe on them. Yes, they were necessary, and here was an argument based on the truth—here was an assertion more consistent with the actual state of the case—that cruelty and severe enactments were necessary to enable them to treat their fellow-men as property. They could not continue to tread down intelligent, immortal beings, while there were no enactments to prevent them from springing up into manhood and vigor—they could not do it without putting on the screws which made the whole frame thrill with agony. There was no mistake about the matter. Men's minds were made to expand, and to grow broader in intellectual attainments, and not to be compressed by slavery; and yet slavery would shut them up between the walls of a prison which each successive day approached nearer, till the crushed victim expired in agony. The mind was made to dilate, to ascend, to grow more and more like Him in moral and intellectual attainments, in whose image man was created; but slavery had a contracting tendency—it sought to press, not dead, inert matter, but the extending elasticity of the human soul; and did they think it would be overcome by a trifling pressure? They admitted, then, that it did not need cruel enactments; but what would they think of the system that needed them? The slave was put under a system of severe law, that treated him not as a human being; and it was absolutely necessary that the law should be thus severe as long as man was under that system; and yet they were good Whigs that kept up the system! Henry Clay, who was so much opposed to emancipation, was a good Whig! And so was Henry A. Wise; he who, in Congress, contended against the encroachments of executive power, and defended the liberties of the people against the might of centralization—who denounced Van Buren with so much energy, and taunted and scorned the instruments of power of that Presidential despot—Henry A. Wise could defend the equal rights, the inalienable rights of the people, while he and the other representatives of the Whig party, at the same time, by their practice, upheld a system which deprived a large portion of their fellow-men of those rights. But again: it was asserted in the Declaration of Independence, that all men had an inalienable right to liberty, and there were three millions that were held in slavery. Well, what became of their vow to see the enforcement of the doctrine that all men *had* the right to be free? All, men, too, had the inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness; but what was meant by the pursuit of happiness? Was it to labor all day for another's advantage? Was it to pursue happiness, to be shut out from the avenues of enjoyment?—Was it the pursuit of happiness, to be, mill-horse like, going round and round in daily unremunerated toil? What was meant by the pursuit of happiness? Was it a something that was only on the lips, but that must never be tasted? They made happiness sometimes to consist in the acquisition of property. They laid up money that they might secure support in old age, and that they might have something to leave to their children, or to bestow on those that were needy around them, and thus to diffuse happiness and to do good with their substance. But this way to pursue happiness was denied to the slave. The law said he could not do, or possess, or acquire any thing but what belonged to his master. He pursued happiness as the dog pursued game—he hunted it down for another, but was choked off the moment it was caught. The acquisition of knowledge was with them the pursuit of happiness; but this gate-way to the pursuit of happiness was closed against the slave. The law said the slave should not learn the alphabet, and that the man who taught him should pay a fine—he should not go to the printing-office, lest some how he should become acquainted with the mysteries of types. The law endeavored to make the slave as near the character of the brute as possible, in order that he might be held more safely in the capacity of a brute. It was not safe to let him improve his mind. Why, if he began to get mental information, by and by he would get too large for his fetters, and swell beyond the compass that confined him. There was danger in giving the slave knowledge, and therefore the door was shut against him. Again, happiness was pursued in domestic enjoyment, and with their friends in social life; but the slave was only permitted to taste its sweets to heighten the pain of separation. He was permitted to bind his heart to another, but it was only till they had grown together, when the fibres were rent asunder and his partner was banished to a distance! That was the slave's domestic happiness. Again, happiness was pursued in the exercise of religious rights and the discharge of religious duties. They could hold converse with Him who placed them here, and enjoy religious intercourse with others, without being made the victims of that suffering, and cruelty, and oppression, that were visited upon the slave. But the slave could not select a religious teacher, nor even read the Bible for himself, nor worship God according to his own convictions of duty. He had not the right of conscience, for he was shut out from its exercise. If light from the throne of God should pass through the admantine wall of slavery, and through the darkness which enshrouded its victim—true, he might by the aid of its radiance, find his way to that pure and perfect happiness which comes from the discharge of religious duties and the enjoyment of religious emotions. But if ignorance of the Bible would shut him out, then indeed he was shut out: if an interdict of the necessary teaching of its pure doctrines, and a studied silence respecting Christian excellence and purity, will shut him out, he is indeed shut out; if unceasing efforts to press men down to the depths of Paganism be to shut him out, then is the slave shut out from the enjoyment of religious exercises. No thanks, then, to us, or to our laws—to democracy or to whigism—if the slave is not made unhappy by being thus not only shut out from every avenue to earthly enjoyment, but as far as man can do it, thrust down to utter perdition—for it is nothing but the goodness of God that can save him from it—it is nothing but that omnipotent power which is bounded by no human limitation that can preserve him from such a fate. We need not follow out the contrast further. But let them look abroad on these things, and they would see that men of all sects and parties permitted, and sanctioned, and upheld, and practiced these abominations;—and upon such men abolitionists called to take the Declaration of Independence, and to live and act according to their own principles. Abolitionists, then, were the only men that were worthy to bear the honorable appellation of Whig—interpreting it according to the construction of their revolutionary fathers; for they were the only men that assented, and maintained, and defended, and acted up to the principles which those fathers set forth.

Again, the resolution acknowledged the Declaration, and put it as the corner-stone of government, that all government should be based on the will of the governed—that from it was derived all just powers; and that man had not the right to govern his fellow man contrary to his express will. They set forth the doctrine that government was designed to promote the advantage, to contribute to the interests, and to secure the welfare of those that lived under it. But what sort of government had they in the South? Why, the slave-driver administered the law of the slaveholder to their victim, who was transferred from hand to hand, either for the pleasure or gain of the slaveholder, by whom he was driven to uncompensated toil, and compelled to wear out his existence in the service, and in the degrading condition of the brute. Was the government to which the slave is compelled to submit instituted for his good? How was his good promoted? Was it by taking away from him all that he possessed, denying to him the recognition of his manhood, and rending from him all his rights? Was that the way to promote his interests? Was such a government one which consulted the good of its subjects? And was that a government for his good by which he could be bought and sold like a beast—that compelled him to work all his life for nothing—that would not enable him to prevent his wife and child being sold away from him—that refused him the least mental cultivation and shut him out from the printing office—that denied to him the rights of conscience—that drove him away from a place of religious worship, or permitted him to go to such a place only on such conditions as would be almost as bad as being driven away entirely, leaving him a heathen in a christian land, and there to be trodden under foot as the basest of human kind—to be taunted, despised, and scorned—a being to be sold as a chattel and to herd only with the beasts? Was that, he asked, evidence that the government was a government with the consent of the governed? Why, here was a government directly in the face of the will and pleasure of him that was governed by it, and which was not framed for his good, nor designed for his benefit. By the law of the South, the slave was a chattel personal, and passed as personal property? What was meant by property? Why, something that they had the control of for their own use and advantage, without reference to the benefit of the thing possessed, and which they could use in such a way as would promote its good, if they pleased, or as would wear it out in the using, if they chose. They might destroy it if they pleased. The horse was a chattel personal, which carried them from place to place; yes, and the ox which they drove through the farm, and which, when no longer useful, they could subject to the blow, and the axe, and the knife, was chattel personal, too. The shady tree, which stood before their door, and screened them with its quivering branches, or which furnished them with fruit for their tables, was also a chattel personal. And when their shady tree had thrown off its foliage, and was no longer useful, they could lay their axe to its trunk, for it was their chattel personal, and sever it into fragments, and throw it into their stoves to warm their rooms in winter or to cook their dinner; and by doing this they did nothing but what they had a right to do with a chattel personal. Well, and what said the law? Why, that the slave was a chattel personal, to all intents and purposes. Then the construction of ownership which he had given came in—the right to use, to preserve, to wear out, to destroy, all came in. He did not suppose the slaveholder would knock the slave down and convert him into food for his table, because he would not find him so palatable as some other meat, but he exercised the right to destroy by imposing a servitude which in seven years on those plantations consumed his energies, and often laid him under the sod. That was what they meant by property—to hold the slave as an instrument, without reference to his own benefit but to subserve the will, and pleasure, and benefit of his owner, as they would use their ox which drew the plough to-day and was converted into beef to-morrow, or the tree which grew to-day at their door, and to-morrow was cast into the fire for their use and advantage. That was what was involved in the claim of chattelism. All this the law asserted to be the legal condition of the slave, and they had the Judges deciding in expounding the law admitting while the relation of master and servant and master and apprentice exists for the mutual good of the parties, that the relation of master and slave was instituted for the sole and exclusive benefit of the master, and into the purpose of that relationship the good of the slave did not enter at all. That was an answer, then, for those who told them that all government was instituted for the good of the governed. The slave was subject to a government which was contrary to his will, and the North star would often testify to it thousands and tens of thousands escaping by its guidance, through starvation and thorns, and briers, and swamps, with fatigued and worn-out frames, to the wilds of Canada, as to a safe refuge from the government which was instituted at the South, and instituted without their consent, or without consulting their good. And these were the exhibitions which the country was presenting of their attachment to the Whig principles of '76! He had asserted that abolitionists were the true Whigs, because they were willing to aid in the overthrow of such a system, and to establish in its place a righteous government, which should have the consent of those that were subject to it; and their resolution declared, not only that they were thus consistent, but that those who were opposed to them—those who would retain such a system in the country—those who would sustain or apologize for that government, a feeble delineation of which he had attempted, but a thousandth part of whose enormities the English language could never describe—that he who upheld or apologized for such a system, was ignorant of the principles of this Republic, or was directly opposed to those principles. Could any thing be plainer? If the principles of the Constitution required that all men should enjoy certain rights, and their practice deprived them of those rights; if it required that government should be established with the consent of the governed, and their practice wrested away their rights and governed those men without their consent—if it required that government should be for the good of the subject, and in their practice they forgot the subject, and absorbed all the benefit to the rulers,—he asked, if it was not plain to even common sense, that when they upheld such a government by their practice, they were ignorant of the principles of this republican Constitution, or were hostile to it? If they knew what republicanism meant, and by their practice were utterly opposed to its spirit, and genius, and tendency, then the proposition in the resolution was made out: and they concluded from it that the man who was thus ignorant of the principles of the republic, or was diametrically opposed to them,—who did not know the foundation on which the fabric rests, or was desirous to subvert it,—who did not know what was meant by an equality of human rights, and sought to govern without the consent of the governed,—or if he did know what was meant by it, and by his practice was in opposition to it, he was, in either case, utterly unfit to be trusted to frame laws for the government of a republic, or to administer its laws; as he who is called upon to administer the laws of a republic ought to be guided by its spirit and ought to be regulated by its principles.

Here, then, was their proposition, that all men had an equality of rights—and therefore, because some had a right to be free, that all had a right to be free; and that he who violated the rights of one assailed the rights of all, and was no true Democrat, because he denied the democratic principle. Nor was he a genuine Whig, because he was at war with the whig doctrine;—because he was either ignorant of, or hostile to that doctrine, and therefore was unfit to frame or administer the laws of the Commonwealth. Those were abolition politics; and if any of them, who were not in grosser ignorance than the slave who never learned the alphabet, might see how utterly distinct were their principles from the petty squabbles of political demagogues—and they might see on what a broad and strong foundation their principles stood, being built on the eternal 'rock of ages,' and founded in justice and truth. And their glorious enterprise was going onward. They did not desire to hurt any men who opposed its progress, but their railway was laid, and they were travelling on it, and it could not be expected that they would go into swamps or over rocks for the purpose of avoiding those who had laid themselves across the rails. No; those persons must get out of their course. Their course was a straight one, and nobody would be hurt by them if they got not on the line.

But those resolutions asked of them something more than a mere assent—they asked for more than the raising of the hand of that assembly—they asked for that expression which came from the bottom of the heart—they asked them to raise their hands not only to give their assent to these resolutions, but to smite asunder the chains of slavery; and to drag it down from the thrones and high places in the nation where it was guarded and protected in its deformity—and to withstand the aristocracy and dignitaries of the land, who would shield it from the rising indignation of an awakened people—they asked them not only to say that those resolutions were true, but to live according to the truth; and to carry forward their principles. That was true democracy that seen in the life and conduct, and which was so visible in their acts as to convince men of their sincerity—that would lead them to treat men as equal in their practice, and to make no compromise with that prejudice and guilty hatred which would consign their fellow-beings to banishment in a distant land for the mere accident of a dark complexion. But the cause would require from them the discharge of many duties—it would require no little self-sacrifice, no little self-denial, and no little exertion. It was no slight matter to engage with the enemies of the cause that were to be found in the way. But their fathers, when they unfurled the banner of liberty, entered upon a struggle which required much self-devotion, and for seven years they faced danger and death; and the worthy sons of those sires, who did so much to attain the liberty of a part of the people, would not do less to secure the liberty of the whole. Their enterprise was as much more glorious than that of their fathers, as moral is superior to physical power, and as perfect liberty is superior to partial freedom: it was as much more glorious, as their principles were more pure, and their application more consistent. If, then, their ancestors had motives to stimulate them to such exertion, what have they of the present day? If their ancestors had motives for doing and bearing so much, how much greater motives have they now to endure, and to act and to brave danger for the accomplishment of their purpose? He hoped, then, that in adopting the resolutions, if they did adopt them, they would bind themselves to the duty of action, consistent and persevering, to set forth their claims above the claims of either democrat or whig, on the ground of their (the Abolitionists,) consistency, and of the others (the Democrats' and Whigs') inconsistency, so that they might be convicted, on their own professions, of acting inconsistently with their high pretensions, and of bearing not out to their extent the principles which they avowed. Adopt the resolutions in that spirit, and victory over slavery was theirs. Slavery could not live in the light that radiated from righteous principles, and was reflected with double in- [illegible] consistent practice, [illegible] could not [illegible] the assaults of keen edged truth [illegible] a vigorous arm, it might live as [illegible] shake the nation to its centre and the whole o [illegible] with the throes of its death agony,—it must expire. (Applause.) The sentime around was no cause for discouragement—it w only evidence that the blow had reached the se of life—that the weapon was forced home wi the vigor which attested that they had begun to the work. But was that a reason for stoppi and for resting from their toils till the monst had ceased to howl and to feel his pains? The were told to wait till the excitement was ove but they ought not to wait, at least till more w done; for would they wait till the enemy aga become strong and vigorous—till he had b come acquainted with their tactics—till he ha fastened them again in his deadly toils—till h had breathed into their lungs the benumbing a mosphere which exhaled from his own—till hi torpid touch had paralysed their energies, and t there was no excitement—till there was the qui of the grave in which would be buried the liber ties of this nation and the rights of the white and the blacks together—(Applause)—and till th slaveholder could write the calumnious inscrip tion over their graves, that they were unwor thy to continue in the cause in which they had engaged. If they wanted that quiet re pose, then let them cease the exertions the had commenced. If they desire no othe victory than that victory won over slavery—if they wished no other quiet than that which would be gained on the restoration of all to their just rights—if they desired no other quiet than that which is consistent with truth and principle and that government which was based on the eternal laws of God, which had been set forth as the guide of their conduct, they must drive home the sword taken from the armory of God. He did not propose or promise them an easy triumph, or a victory won without the exertion that would make it a grateful one. When the shout of Jubilee went up, it would tell of a dearly won victory—and it would be a shout that would come from the hearts which had been thrilling with excitement in the mighty conflict. The shout would be earnest, because the victory was merited. He did not purpose a reward that would be unworthy the taking—that would be unworthy the toil necessary to secure it; but they proposed the reward of a nobler enterprise, because they believed that the soldier in that cause would not desire the reward of idleness. They would be ashamed to exult over an easily won victory—over the success of a contest with a feeble antagonist. Let them lay these things to heart when they come in opposition with slavery, and the hostility of avowed enemies, or the withdrawal of tried and chosen friends in the day of difficulty or danger; or let them not be disheartened. Let them remember that this was a conflict of truth against error. They had truth on their side, and they had the God of truth; they had humanity and mercy on their side, and that Being who was infinite in mercy; they had justice on their side, and all in whose hearts justice found an abiding place, and Him who was justice itself. Let them remember 'they that are for us are more than they that are against us'—they had the civilized and christianized world; and God, who was the fountain of all goodness, assured them of ultimate triumph. He had declared that if any one robbed the poor and needy, he would plead the cause of the poor, and spoil the souls of those that spoiled them—and he had declared that his word should not return *to* him void, but that it should accomplish that whereunto it was sent. Let them, then, carry forward the great cause of truth—let them press it on the consciences of men—let them fight the battle with the weapons of truth, and victory must be theirs. (Great applause.)

'And when the truth its perfect work hath done,
And rich with blessings o'er our land hath gone—
When not a slave beneath his yoke shall pine,
From broad Potomac to the far Sabine
When unto angel-lips at last is given
The silver trump of Jubilee in Heaven,
And from Virginia's plains—Kentucky's shades,
And through the dim Floridian everglades,
Rises to meet that angel trumpet's sound,
The voice of millions from their chains unbound—
Then, though this hall be crumbling in decay,
Its strong walls blending with the common clay,
Yet, round the ruins of its strength shall stand
The best and noblest of a ransomed band—
Pilgrims, like those who throng around the shrine
Of Mecca—or of holy Palestine!—
A prouder glory shall that ruin own
Than that which lingers round the Parthenon.
Here shall the child of after years be taught
The work of freedom which his fathers wrought—
Told of the trials of the present hour,
Our weary strife with prejudice and power,
How the high errand quickened woman's soul,
And touch'd her lip as with the living coal,—
How freedom's martyrs kept their lofty faith
True and unwavering, unto bonds and death,
The pencil's art shall sketch the ruined hall,
The muses' garland crown its aged wall,
And history's pen for after times record
Its consecration unto FREEDOM'S GOD.'

(Enthusiastic applause.)

The fate of Men of Talent.

Homer was a beggar; Plutus turned a mill; Terence was a slave; Boethius died in jail; Paul Borghese had fourteen trades and starved with them all; Tasso was often distressed for five shillings; Bentinoglio was refused admittance into a hospital he had himself erected.—Cervantes died of hunger; Cameons, the celebrated writer of the Lusiad, ended his days, it is said, in an almshouse, and at any rate was supported by a faithful black servant, who begged in the streets of Lisbon for the only man in Portugal on whom God had bestowed those talents which have a tendency to exalt the spirit of a downward age; and Fangelas left his body to the surgeons to pay his debts as far as it would go.

In England, Bacon lived a life of meanness and distress, Sir Walter Raleigh died on a scaffold; Spencer, the charming Spencer, died forsaken and in want; the death of Collins was caused through neglect, it producing mental derangement:

"Each lovely scene shall thee restore,
For thee the tear be duly shed;
Beloved till life can charm no more,
And Mourned though pity's self be dead!"

Milton sold his copyright of Paradise Lost, for fourteen pounds, at three payments, and finished his life in obscurity. Dryden lived in poverty and died in distress. Otway died prematurely and through hunger. Lee died in the streets; Steele lived a life of perfect warfare with bailiffs; the Vicar of Wakefield was sold for a trifle to save Goldsmith from the gripe of the law; Fielding lies in a burying ground of the English factory at Lisbon, without a stone to mark the spot. Savage died in prison at Bristol, where he was confined for a debt of 8 pounds. Chatterton, the child of genius and misfortune, destroyed himself. John Keats died of a broken heart, occasioned, it is said, by the merciless manner in which his works were reviewed.

Character of Deborah.—Lady Morgan, in her late interesting work entitled, "Woman and her Master," dwells at some length on the benefits which Israel derived from the administration of Deborah—and concludes with this forcible remark:

"It has been remarked by Scripture commentators, that Deborah, alone, of all the rulers of Israel, has escaped unreproved by the prophets and inspired historians, and the murmuring Israelites, who denounced Moses as deceptive, accused Joshua as indiscreet revealed the vices of Sampson, the frailties of David, and the idolatry of Solomon, have left the pure and active life of Deborah of I